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By Grace Greylock Niles

Bog-Trotting for Orchids
The Hoosac Valley



The Witenagemot Oak. A Treaty Tree of Peace and Welfare.

Planted by the Christians for the Hoosac and Mohawk Scouts, near the junction of the Tomhannac Creek with the Hoosac River, in the Vale of Peace, Old Schaghticoke, New York. Here assembled the first Council of the Christians with Soquon and Maquon after the Hoosacs' final victory over Kryn's Mohawks in 1676.

*And then to mark the lord of all,
The forest hero, trained to wars,
Quivered and plumed, and lithe and tall,
And seamed with glorious scars,
Walk forth, amid his reign, to dare
The wolf, and grapple with the bear.*

BRYANT, An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers.

The Hoosac Valley

Its Legends and Its History

By

Grace Greylock Niles

Author of "Bog-Trotting for Orchids"

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To
THE MEMORY OF
SOQUON AND MAQUON
THE LAST GREAT SEERS OF THE
"MAHICAN MEN OF THE EAST"
AND THE
"WARRIORS OF THE RISING SUN"
THE
FIRST INHABITANTS OF THE OLD
HOOSACS' VALLEY OF MINGLING WATERS
AND THE
"VALE OF PEACE"
1609-1709

PREFACE

THE early history of the Hoosac Valley is inextricably interwoven with that of the very foundation of our great Republic. Its inhabitants were among the first to rise in resentment of the tyranny of the mother country, to defend the outraged rights of American manhood; and it was here that some of the most determined sieges of the Revolution took place. Bancroft considered the victory of Bennington one of the most brilliant and eventful strokes of the Revolutionary War.

The battle-fields of the savage period, during the Mohawk and Mahican wars, between 1540 and 1669, were located chiefly in the narrow passes of the Taconac and Green mountains north of the Forbidden Hoosac Mountain, between the Hudson-Champlain and Connecticut valleys. The "dark and bloody war-paths" stretched from Hochelaga—the Algonquin's council-hill on the site of Montreal in the St. Lawrence Valley of New France—south to Cohoes Falls, the eastern portal of the Mohawk Valley; thence, through the Hoosac Pass to Manhattan, Pequot, and Wampanoag bays on the coasts of New Netherland and New England.

The Abenakis tradition refers to Uncus and Passaconaway and their Mahican and Pennacook councillors lighting the nation's council-fire at Chescodonta, the site of Albany Capitol, until about 1595. However, at the time Samuel Champlain and his French and Algonquin crew visited Ticonderoga in July, 1609, and Hendrik Hudson and his English and Dutch crew of the *Half Moon* anchored at Chescodonta six weeks later, King Aepjen had removed the

Abenakis Democracy's Capitol to Schodac, the site of Castleton, on the east bank of the Hudson. His Owl and Hero captains, Soquon and Maquon of the Bears and Wolves, commanded castles, Unuwat and Moenemines, below Cohoes Falls and guarded the war-trails leading to the Iroquois hunting-grounds and the neutral forests about Ticonderoga.

The Hoosacs and Mahicansacs of the races of Great Soqui and Great Minsi resided in the Green, Taconac, Helderbergs, and Catskills. They held the most powerful military position of the warriors of New England and New Netherland, along both banks of the Hudson and Lake Champlain waterways. As a result, they were recognized as the greatest strategists of the Abenakis Democracy during the first century of our colonial history, until dispersed by the superior cunning of the Christians and the trickery of the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy.

As early as 1628, Maquon and Soquon were forced from their Saratoga and Hoosac hunting-grounds by the Mohawks. They retreated over the Green Mountains and located at Coos Falls on the west bank of the Connecticut, where their warriors took the tribal name of Coosacs and Soquonsacs under Soquon. They were soon joined by their kindred Pennacook and Abnaquis, Bears of the White Mountains and Maine Woods, and for forty-one years continued to dispute the Mohawks' occupation of their hunting-grounds. At last, during the late autumn of 1669, the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs won the final victory over the Mohawks, and again settled in their native forests. They adopted the new national name Skatecooks or Schaghticokes, signifying Warriors of the Mingling Waters.

The colonial and revolutionary history of the Hoosac Valley touches that of five important provinces: Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut on the south; New Hampshire Grants on the east; New York on the west,



The Walloomsac Ford of the ancient Hoosac and Mohawk Trail, over which the Fort Massachusetts Captives crossed, August 22, 1746, to Van Ness Mansion on their March up the Owl Kill Trail to Quebec's Prison-Pens.

Fort St. Croix Terrace looms up on the right in the distance. On this Terrace had been built four or five different Forts and Forest Chapels between 1540 and 1777, although little is definitely recorded about their construction or destruction.

*Whence have sprung the things that are?
And whither roll the passing years?
Where does Time conceal its two heads,
In dense impenetrable gloom,
Its surface marked with heroes' deeds alone?*

OSSIAN, Duan of Ca-Lodin.

and the Green Mountain campaign ground, of Vermont, within whose borders occurred many controversies over the adopted Twenty-Mile Line between New York and New England after the English conquest of New Netherland.

"It is not the number of killed and wounded in a battle," wrote Montesquieu, "that determines its historical importance." And whether our American battles were fought by the savage or by the Christian, to quote the emphatic lines of Lord Byron:

'T is the cause makes all,
Degrades or hallows courage in its fall.

The successors of the Pilgrim Fathers, including the zealous Cotton Mather, held the doctrine of Underhill and Church. They believed the Mahicans to be the heathen tribes of Israel and contended that they had no rights that the Christian was bound to respect. The fur-traders soon succeeded in robbing the Indians of their lands for a few kegs of beer and grape wine. Later the English elders and Dutch dominies took possession of the heathen's hunting-grounds, and the savages discovered too late that they possessed only the Christian's Bibles and had developed an unconquerable thirst for their *Spirit-waters*. The educational status of the Redmen might have rested upon a more satisfactory basis had they been approached either by a lower race of civilization or by higher exponents of Christianity than the creeds represented by the grasping Dutch, French, and English Fathers.

The territory that lies in the heart of the Taconac Highlands covers but a small area of that occupied by the thirteen original colonies, but the region between Fort Massachusetts of the English on the upper Hoosac, forts Crailo and Orange of the Dutch on the Hudson, and Fort St. Frederic of the French at Crown Point

on Lake Champlain, was destined to be the birthplace of American patriotism—one might say, of the very spirit of the first open rebellion against the English Crown, resulting in the American Revolution.

The Hoosac and Walloomsac passes of the Taconacs became the gateways leading to the campaign ground of border warfare of the contending nations of New England, New Netherland, and New France. No less than ten different forts have occupied the portals of the main war-paths of the interior Hoosac Valley; and forty more strongholds have flanked its borders within a radius of seventy-five miles of the meeting of the boundaries of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York.

The Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs has been compared to the Pass of Thermopylæ. The standards of the Hoosacs and Mohawks were unfurled when the "Assemblage of the Wise" took place in March, 1676, and Gov. Edmund Andros planted the Witenagemot Oak in Old Schaghticoke on the lower Hoosac. It marks the only "Vale of Peace" on the continent where a tree of welfare has been planted for the Indians. In the Hoosac Pass the flags of the French, Dutch, English, and Americans, and the banners of the Catholic and Protestant churches have been unfurled. The American Stars and Stripes was hoisted on the breeze of Freedom, at the surrender of the British at Old Saratoga, on October 17, 1777, a little over four months after it had been adopted by Congress.

The brilliancy and value of the Councils of Safety, and the heroic service rendered by the Berkshire, Bennington, Rensselaer, and Washington boys, is denied by no student of history. In all the wars of the Republic, the Hoosac-tonians' militia has been represented, in the victorious fighting ranks, by sturdy representatives of American courage and intelligence.

The author's purpose here is not to furnish new pages for history, but rather to present the story of beginnings in Historic Hoosac and Saratoga in their true relations to the world's great history of war, peace, and progress. Yet because of inherited sympathies, she naturally is inclined to give full credit to the victorious deeds of the "Sons of Freedom" of this fair valley, who fought entirely forgetful of self in their devotion to American Independence.

G. G. N.

NEW YORK CITY,
January, 1912.

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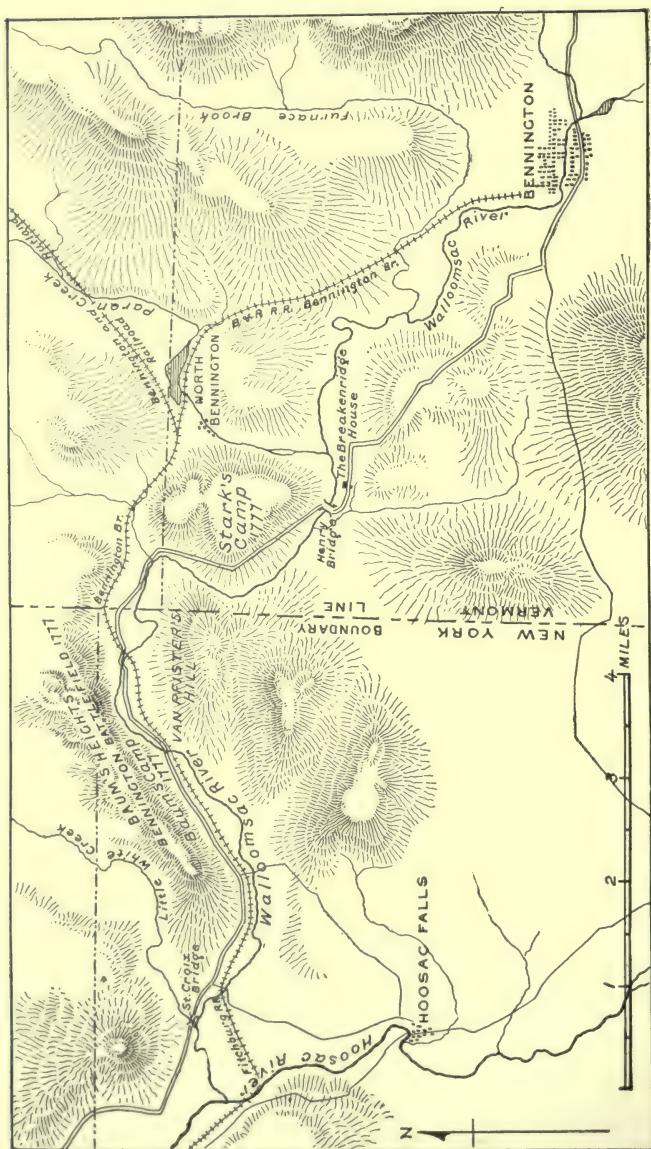
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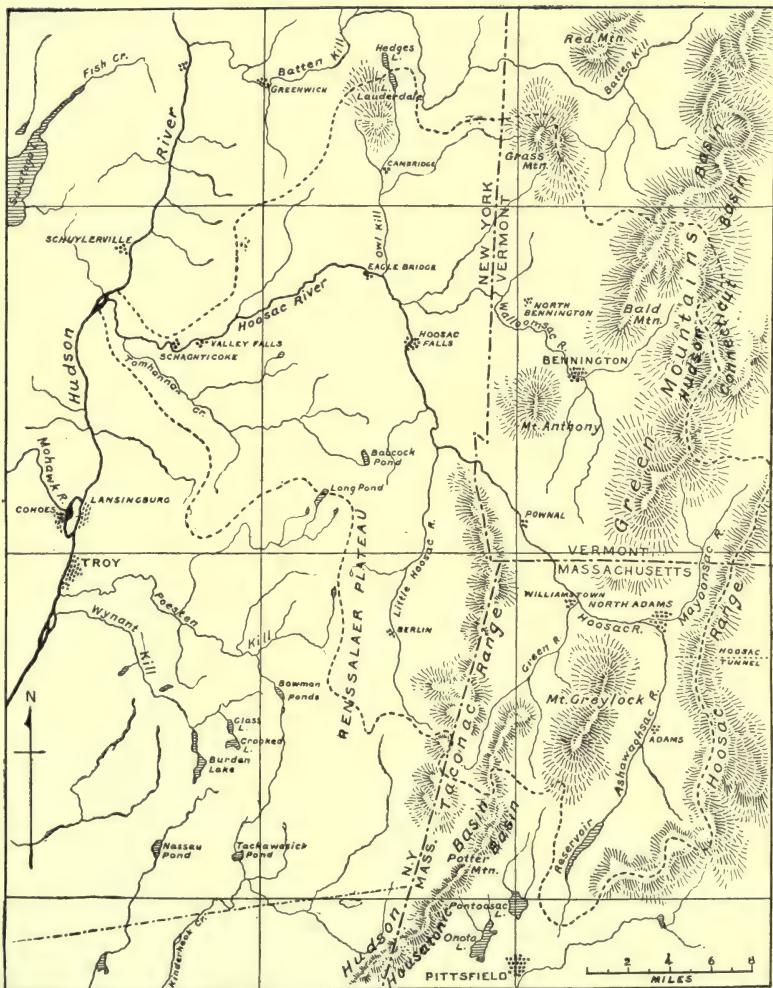
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Map of the Taconic Region.

THE HOOSAC VALLEY

INTRODUCTORY

THE HOOSAC PASS OF THE TACONAC MOUNTAINS¹

We should read history as little critically as we consider the landscape. . . . It is the morning now turned evening and seen in the west,—the same sun, but a new light and atmosphere.—THOREAU, *Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*.

Legends of Hoosac Pass of Taconacs—Cambrian Sea—Silurian Bay—Glacial Lake Bascom—River and Lake Systems—Origin of Mahican Name Taconac.

THE Taconac Mountains² consist of a broken chain of peaks, now but a fragment of their original grandeur. The ruined range stretches from Fishkill-on-the-Hudson northeastward two hundred miles along the New England borders and tapers out at Brandon, Vermont. The range varies in width from one to fourteen miles, culminating in the highest summits and broadest land-swells on the upper Hoosac, Walloomsac, and Batten Kill. The Taconac highlands are separated from the Green Mountains by the Great Southwestern Vermont Valley, that extends southward from the Lake Champlain headwaters to the sources of

¹ For origins of Indian names, see Note 1 at end of volume.

² T. Nelson Dale: "Geology of the North End of the Taconac Range," *American Journal of Science*, xvii., March, 1904; "Geology of Hudson Valley, between Hoosac and Kinderhook," *United States Geological Survey, Bulletin*, No. 242, 1904; "Taconac Physiography," *United States Geological Survey, Bulletin*, No. 272, 1905.

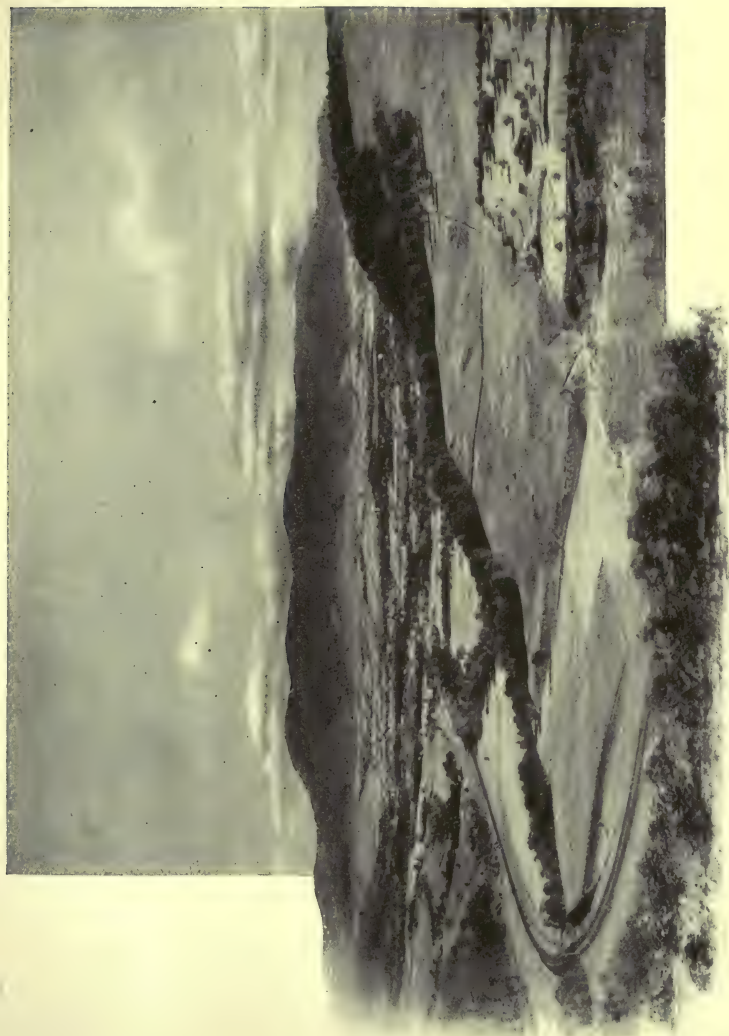
The Hoosac Valley

the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys in Northern Berkshire, Massachusetts.

The Green Mountains form a natural divide between the Hudson-Champlain and Connecticut basins. The streams flowing from the east slopes join the Connecticut River; the Hoosac, Walloomsac, Batten Kill, Mettawee, and Castleton rivers drain the western slopes, having made their devious westward passage through more than forty miles of the soft marble and schist walls of the Taconacs to mingle with the Hudson and Champlain waters.

The valley of the Hoosac and the mingling rivers form a *Cohoha* (basin-shaped area) nearly forty miles square. The Hoosac and Walloomsac reach down to the 800-foot level above tide-water. The northern boundary of the Hoosac basin is the Walloomsac-Batten Kill divide of the Hudson basin, along which are the Vermont towns of Arlington and Shaftsbury. On the south, it is bounded by the Hoosac-Housatonac divide of the Hudson-Connecticut basin, marked by the Massachusetts towns of Lanesboro, Cheshire, and Hancock. From the Green Mountain watershed of the Hudson-Connecticut basin, along the heights of Florida and North Adams in Berkshire County, Mass., and of Stamford, Woodford, and Glastonbury in Bennington County, Vt., the Hoosac Valley of Mingling Waters reaches northwestward to the Hudson's terraced heights of Rafinesque and Rice, in the New York towns of Brunswick, Lansingburgh, and Schaghticoke, Rensselaer County, and Mount Willard in Easton, Washington County.

The Green and Taconac mountains are popularly believed to be the same range, but they differ widely in structure and have forests peculiar to their formative rocks. The Green Mountains are a strong wall of quartzite, granite, and iron; their summits are covered with spruce and fir, and their slopes and valleys with hemlock, pine, and mixed wood.



The Hoosac Pass of the Taconic Mountains, near the Weeping Rocks. The Greylock Range as Beheld from the North with the College Town of Williamstown at its Base.

The Taconacs are of marble, soluble limestone, talcs, and schists. The schists are of intermediate hardness and constitute the highest wave-like summits and the tops of the outlying hills of the range, which are clothed with forests of beech, birch, maple, oak, and chestnut.

The westward and southern bends of both the Hoosac and the Walloomsac are due partly to their waters striking the Lower Cambrian quartzite of the Green Mountains or the schists of the Taconacs that merge with the softer limestones and marbles along the borders of the two ranges—obstacles that the rivers can circumvent but cannot erode.

The symmetrical sand-hills of diluvial formation on the headwaters of the Hoosac, Walloomsac, and Little Hoosac mark the grave of the ancient Cambrian Sea, Silurian Bay, and the subsequent glacial Lake Bascom. Along the terraced shores are found conglomerates of limestone-breccia, composed of pre-Cambrian beach sand and small quartzite pebbles. Bryant in his poem, *Earth*, describes that Age when temperate waters surged through the Hoosac and Great Southwestern Vermont and Champlain valleys to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He heard that:

Voice of many tones—sent up from streams
That wander through the gloom, from woods unseen
Swayed by the sweeping of the tides of air,
From rocky chasms where darkness dwells all day.

The later language of the Glacial Period was scratched up on the bald summit of Greylock by the semi-continental sea of ice that bore down in its tidal movement from the crystal summits of the Laurentian Highlands, located on the site of Niagara Falls. In a long subsequent period local glaciers crowned the Dome of the Green Mountains, and also Greylock, Mount Anthony, Equinox, and Æolus of the Taconacs. Tumbling bergs of ice, freighted with granite, quartzite, and



*The Westward Course of Hoosac River through Blackington, Massachusetts, at the Northern Base of Greylock Range.
Gentle river, gentle river,
Lo, thy streams are stained with gore,*

Many a brave and noble captain

Floats along thy willowed shore.

Spanish Ballad in **PERCY**

marble boulders from the North, were hoisted along the terraced shores and natural dams of Lake Bascom in the upper Hoosac and Walloomsac, where the rocks rest to-day. The Hoosacs and Mahicansacs recognized the quartz rocks of light, which the eye of morning counts on the summits, as *Manitou aseniah* (Spirit-stones).

The lower natural dam of the glacial Lake Bascom was located somewhere about "Weeping Rocks" and Kreigger Rocks in Pownal, and Mount Captivity¹ in Petersburg on the New York border, and Mount St. Anthony on the Vermont border. The upper dam lay between Mount St. Anthony in Bennington, and Baum's Height in White Creek, on the New York border. Subterranean rivers flowed for a time through the caves of St. Anthony and Mount Æolus and served as outlets of the lake until the final breaking away of the rocky arches spanning the Hoosac and Walloomsac passes of the Taconac Mountains. After the greater volume of water rippling about the conical summit of St. Anthony, drained from the highlands, the Hoosac and Walloomsac river and lake system took place. Ten thousand years ago, according to its terraced shores, observed by geologist Dale, about the base of Greylock on the upper Hoosac, and Equinox and Æolus on the upper Walloomsac and Batten Kill, Lake Bascom had a depth of six hundred feet. The Hoosac lake was connected by an overflowing stream from the upper Walloomsac at Pownal Centre that eroded the gorges about Kreigger Rocks, at North Pownal; and St. Anthony's subterranean river, now known as Wash Tub Brook.

The sand-hills of glacial drift, observed on the headwaters of *all* the little rivers of the Hoosac Valley, mark the site of a successive chain of lakes. The mounds

¹ Christened after "Captivity" Smead, one of Fort Massachusetts' captives born in the shadow of the mountain, August 21, 1746. See Chapter VI.

were used as burial-places by the prehistoric Indian race that roamed through that section. The myth has been preserved by Whittier in his poem *The Grave by the Lake*.

The Greylock-Stratton and the Æolus-Equinox spurs of the main Taconac Range are fourteen miles in width, and their summits rise 3505 to 3795 feet above sea level. The eastern face of the range is very steep, while the western slopes are gradual in their descent. Mount St. Anthony rises 2345 feet above tide-water and stands like a lonely sentinel guarding the Hoosac and Walloomsac passes. It is the only connecting link between Mount Captivity, on the New York border, and Equinox and Æolus, in the northern Walloomsac Gap of Vermont.

The Hoosacs Lake District is located on the Rensselaer Plateau west of the Taconac Range. The region contains twenty-five lakes, fed by bubbling sand springs, lying on the south between the Little Hoosac and Tomhannac divide of the Kinderhook Valley, marked by the towns of Berlin, Grafton, and Brunswick in Rensselaer County; and on the north, between the Owl Kill and Batten Kill divide, adjacent to the towns of Jackson, Cambridge, and White Creek in Washington County, New York.

The sparkling wonders of Rensselaer Plains consist of conglomerates of beach sand, intermixed with pebbles and small boulders of quartz, and shales and grits, which form a clayey soil. The olive shale ledges weather bright brick-red, and are mixed with purple and white quartz and bluish belts of rock that contain several species of marine fossils. The olive shales begin near Lake Ida, east of the city of Troy, pass northeast through Schaghticoke, and reappear among the Cambridge hills in the Owl Kill Valley.

The limestone-breccia ledge near Oakwood Cemetery, east of Lansingburgh Station, contains a vein of quartz-crystal known to the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs as *Manitou*

aseniah (Spirit-stone). The Dutch and French of Rensselaerwyck called it "Stone Arabia," and the English, "Diamond Rock." The Hoosac *Kitsmac* (powwow priest) used the quartz-crystal to carve symbols of the *Wakon-bird* (Spirit-dove) to appease the Moodus upheavals of *Hobba-mocko* (the god of thunder).

The ancient legend of the Rensselaer Plateau reveals that many million years ago during the Lower Cambrian and Ordovician or Hudson time, the region was submerged by three successive shallow seas. The recession of those waters was followed by three crustal upheavals of the earth's surface; one of these, in the Hudson Age, resulted in the formation of the Green and Taconac mountain ranges. The Cambrian Sea then receded westward to the longitude of the Hudson and left the Rensselaer and Washington hills denuded. Later, after the Glacial Period, the lake and river systems of the Little Hoosac, Tomhannac, and Owl Kill took place.

The Lower Cambrian quartzite of the Green Mountains is the oldest outcropping rock of the Hoosac Valley. It is formed of beach sand and pebbles, accompanied by conglomerate or "pudding-stone" cliffs. The St. Francis Ledge of Lower Cambrian quartzite, north of Fort Massachusetts Meadow and in the Braytonville pass of the railroad, underlies the Greylock Range, and reappears again on Monument Mountain in Old Stockbridge, where the Green Mountain rock tapers out.

The accompanying "pudding-stone" cliffs may be observed overhanging the highway at "Weeping Rocks" in the Hoosac Pass of Pownal; on Stone Hill in Williamstown; near Bennington Falls on the Walloomsac; about the "Devil's Chimney," near the "Fallen-hill," in Old Schaghticoke on the lower Hoosac; and throughout Tomhannac and Owl Kill valleys of Rensselaer Plateau. The conglomerate

ledges, according to geologists, are the products of sea-erosion, of the pre-Cambrian land surface on the site of Hoosac Valley, before the upheaval of the Green and Taconac mountain ranges. Overlying this pre-Cambrian seashore



Hobbamock's Shrine. An Upheaval of Lower Cambrian Quartzite of the Green Mountain Bedrock on Rattlesnake Ledge of the Domelet, Pownal, Vermont.

about "Weeping Rocks" in Pownal, may be observed the subsequent Taconac schists and limestone of the Hudson Age. On Rattlesnake Ledge of the Domelet a mile and a half east of "Weeping Rocks" is found an upheaval of the Lower Cambrian quartzite rock of the Green Mountains, thrust up later through the overlying Taconac limestones.

That quartzite upheaval resulted in forming Mount Ceta (Mason Hill) and the Domelet, and caused vertical fissures

or caves which, according to geologist Dale,¹ allow the surface water of the region to descend to a depth of 1500 feet. The water becomes heated and charged with gases, and bubbles to the surface again in the thermal Sand Springs two miles south in Williamstown. The Mahicans recognized the Moodus² upheaval of distorted blocks of rock and cast sacrificial stones in a heap in such noisy places to appease the evil spirit of calamity.

The later legend of the Hoosacs Taconac Lake region of Rensselaer Plains reveals that the widest part of the Silurian Bay extended for a time over the hills of Grafton, Brunswick, and Pittstown. The only remnants of the ancient seas, bays, and later glacial lakes are found in the lakelets on the plateau 800 to 1500 feet above tide-water, fed by bubbling springs, ranging from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half in length. The largest of these are Long Pond, Lake Babcock, and Lake Taconac.

The Taconac and Green Mountain bed-rocks were first studied by geologist Amos Eaton and his pupils, Ebenezer Emmons and Albert Hopkins of Williams College. Dr. Emmons studied the Lower Cambrian upheavals of quartzite on "Stone Cobble" (Mount Emmons of Alberta's Range) east of Williamstown, and reported his scientific discovery of the *Taghkanic System* in 1838. His theory called forth the ridicule of eminent geologists, but in 1846 he published positive proof of his discovery, observed in a fissure south of Berlin Pass on Mount Hopkins, west of Williamstown on the main Taconac Range. Dr. Ebenezer Emmons³ is to-day acknowledged the founder of the *Taconac System* in geology.

¹ T. Nelson Dale, *Geological History of Mount Greylock*, 1906, pp. 10-11. Read before Berkshire Hist. and Sci. Soc. at Pittsfield, Feb. 6, 1900.

² C. Burr Todd, "Geology of Mount Tom or Mount Moodus," *Olde Connecticut*, xi., p. 151.

³ Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedic*, 1861.

Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains II

The designation Taconac, according to the Mahican and Mohawk dialects, comes from the term, *Tohkone*, *Tachan*, and *Taghkan*, followed by the affix, *i.e.*, *izen*, and *ic* or *ac*, signifying woodsy, rocky mountain-place. The term Tohkonac, according to historian Ruttenber, first designated a bubbling sand spring west of the Taconac Range near Copake Lake on Livingston's "Taghkanick Tract," purchased from the Mahicans in 1683. The Dutch, French, and the English later pronounced the name, Tomhennich and Tomhannock, designating the creek draining the Hoosacs Taconac Lake region of Rensselaer Plains. The terms, *Ket-Tar* and *K'ta-kanat-shan*, according to J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, signify "great woodsy mountains" strewn with boulders and full of caves and sand springs. The name Taconac has fifty different spellings in the Albany Archives.

Nowhere in the Taconac Range are its typical features of erosion more striking than along the banks of the Hoosac and its numerous branches. The Hoosac falls about two hundred and seventy feet in its devious northwest passage of twenty-five miles from the base of the Hoosac Tunnel Mountain in North Adams, Mass., to its union with the Walloomsac near Hoosac Junction, New York.

The largest falls on Hoosac River are those of "Falls Quequick or Quiquek"¹ in the Village of Hoosac Falls, and Hart's Falls in Schaghticoke Village. The latter descends one hundred and sixty feet in a run of less than two miles, between Schaghticoke Point highway bridge and the "Devil's Chimney," opposite the "Fallen-hill." The "Big-Eddy," a quarter of a mile below the bridge, turns abruptly south and enters a gorge which is from one to two hundred

¹ Canis's *Report of Hoosack Patent III*: "Quick-Quick," query for analogy hunters.

The Hoosac Valley

feet deep and about one hundred feet wide in places. In the wild course of the ravine the Hoosac falls one hundred feet and glides through "Hell's-gate," a narrow pass not over twelve feet wide. Many *Cohohas* (cradle-hollows, or pot-holes) appear in the harder schistose rocks of the gorge, used by the Hoosac squaws as mortars in which to pound corn with stone-pestles. The perpendicular cliffs on either bank of "Hell's-gate" are scaled by hemlocks, cedars, and rare walking-ferns, cliff-brakes, and spleenworts.

Below "Hell's-gate" the river bends west and north and forms a perfect ox-bow, enclosing a strip of land on the north bank called "Buck's-neck"—a resort for deer, opposite the Mahicans' "Indian-square" camp-ground. The stream takes many a wild bend and tumble before it forms the musical falls above and below the sacrificial altar of *Hobba-mocko*, known as the "Devil's Chimney," opposite the "Fallen-hill." It finally turns southwestward through the "Vale of Peace" before it resumes its constantly widening northwest course. At last, in full view of the Hudson, opposite the village of Stillwater, the Hoosac strikes the rocky terraces that separate its waters from those of the lordly stream beyond, and is turned abruptly south. Before the Hoosac blends with the grand river of the mountains, however, it is greeted by the Dwaas Kill, an overflowing stream of the Hudson which, as the Dutch name implies, runs both ways. It is not uncommon to see this little stream running north at sunrise and south at sunset, its upward course depending upon the swollen currents of the Hoosac after freshets or cloudbursts in the highlands.

Beyond the Dwaas Kill, the Hoosac glides between impressive perpendicular walls of glacial drift, thirty feet high, and finally flows through a rocky portal, sixty or more feet wide, and mingles with the deep, still waters of the Hudson.

Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains 13

The cradle-song of thy hillside fountains
Here in thy glory and strength repeat;
Give us a strain of thy upland music,
Show us the dance of thy silvery feet.

Sing on! bring down, O lowland river,
The joy of the hills to the waiting sea;
The wealth of the vales, the pomp of the mountains,
The breath of the woodlands bear with thee!

CHAPTER I

THE HOOSACS' HUNTING-GROUNDS AND LEGEND OF ST. CROIX 1540-1669

*The doomed Indian leaves behind no trace,
To save his own or serve another race.
With his frail breath his power has passed away;
His deeds, his thoughts, are buried with his clay;
His heraldry is but a broken bow,
His history but a tale of wrong and woe,
His very name must be a blank.*

SPRAGUE.

Legend of St. Croix—Advent of Allefonsce's French Traders, 1540-1542—Champlain's French Jesuits, 1609—Hudson's English Pilgrims and Dutch Boers, 1609-1615—Mey's French Walloons, 1624—Abenakis Democracy—King Aepjen—Owl Soquon of Hoosac Valley—Hero Maquon of Mahicansac Valley—Abenakis Cantons—Castles—Villages and Planting-Grounds—Mohawk and Hoosac War, 1609-1669—Victory of Soquon and Maquon over Kryn's Mohawks—The Hoosacs' and Mahicansacs' Burial-Fields—Moodus Pow-wows to Great Manitou and Great Hobamocko.

THE Hoosacs' golden legend of St. Croix—the Holy Cross, formed by the junction of the Walloomsac with the Hoosac—undoubtedly originated during the visits of Allefonsce's¹ French fur-traders from St. Ange to their hunting-grounds, between 1540 and 1542. This myth throws back the Delaware and Mahican traditions nearly three centuries, to the time of Modoc's voyage to America, in 1170. The story of Modoc has often been repeated in connection with the possible existence, at an early date, of Welsh colonies on our continent.

¹ Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles*, pp. 6, 16, 17, 79.

In 1524 came the Italian explorer, Verrazzano, and his French crew from Dieppe, on the dove-like ship, *La Dauphine*. Verrazzano visited the Manhattanese village on Governor Island and christened the Mahicansac—the Grande River. The following season, the Spanish navigator, Gomez, on his voyage to Florida, passed the Manhattan Bay, although neither of these discoverers attempted to locate in the region.

Jean Allefonsce's fur-traders from St. Ange, France, settled at Chescodonta in 1540, and began a stone château on Castle Island, opposite the site of Albany, but it was swept away by high water before completion. A Jesuit Father later accompanied the traders up the river to Niskayuna, the willow flats of Green Island, and christened it St. Ange—place of the Holy Angel, still known as Nastagione.

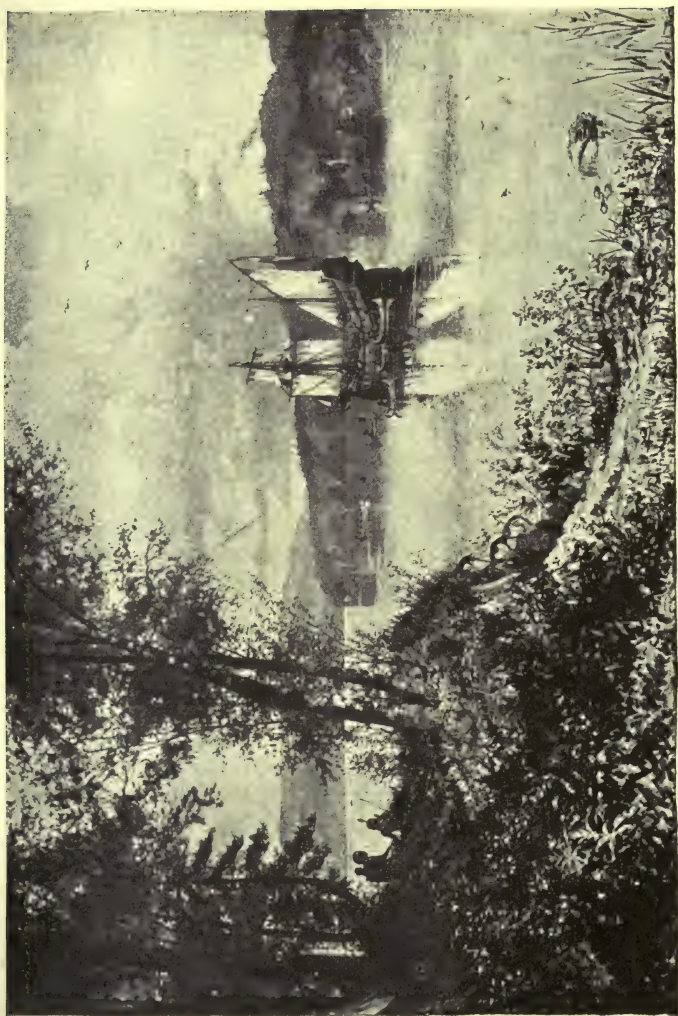
The same season the St. Ange traders visited the *Uk-hooh's* (Owl's or Orator's) Tioshoke cornfield, near the Ticonderoga trail, at the junction of the Owl Kill with the Hoosac River. Partridge berries and strawberries grew along the edges of the fields, and grape-vines embowered the oak and pine groves. The Owl, Captain Soquon of the Hoosac Bears, and the Hero, Captain Maquon of the Mahicansac Wolves, feasted on bear, wolf, venison, corn-cake, squash, or pumpkin, known as vine-apple, and succotash. They quenched their thirst with water from the hillside fountains and knew nothing of grape-juice or crab-apple brandy or the lightning weapons of the sky until the arrival of the French, English, and Dutch Christians in 1609.

The *Kitsmac* (pow-wow priest) of the Hoosacs pointed out the *Great Manitou's-swastika* (Spirit's-cross) formed by the junction of the two large rivers from the mountains above Soquon's Tioshoke village. The Jesuit Father at once recognized the ancient Egyptians' cross of good luck used as a symbol by Indian nations to ward off the *Chin-dee*

(evil-eye of the fiend of calamity). He blessed the mingling waters and hoisted the Roman Catholic banner St. Croix (Holy Cross), on the high terrace overlooking the valley. The traders later built the palisaded castle St. Croix and founded a forest chapel in memory of the missionary, St. Antoine of Padua. The ceremony was long remembered by the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs after the St. Ange crew departed in 1542. The names St. Ange, St. Onetho, St. Croix, and St. Antoine, still cling to the Vale of the Holy Cross of central Hoosac and to Mount St. Anthony of Bennington, in whose shadow St. Antoine's chapel undoubtedly stood.

The Maquaas—Bears of the Iroquois Confederacy—began to war with the Hoosacs and Mahicans, according to tradition, about 1542, and fought until about 1595 when they forced Uncus and Passaconaway to retire from Chescodonta Castle of the Abenakis Democracy. Soon after the arrival of the French navigator, Champlain, at Ticonderoga on the headwaters of the lake bearing his name, in July 1609, and of Hendrik Hudson and his Dutch crew of the ship, *Half Moon*, at Chescodonta, in September of the same season, King Aepjen, a nephew of Uncus, succeeded to the democratical office of Great Sachem and occupied Schodac Castle, the site of Castleton, on the east bank of the Hudson.

The King welcomed Hudson as Onetho returned from St. Ange—the country of angels beyond the sea. He invited Hudson's mate, Robert Juet, to his Schodac Castle and served him the customary feast of honor to friends. The repast consisted of a pair of white doves—peace symbols of the Holy Ghost, and roasted wolf or dog—symbolic of the supernatural power of his Mahican Heroes in war. The King begged Juet to abide with him and expressed his friendliness and trust by ordering his war captains, Soquon



The Half Moon.

The English navigator, Hendrik Hudson, and his English and Dutch crew anchored their ship, Half Moon, on the Grande River of the Mahicans opposite the site of Albany, September 19, 1609, for four days. Several boatmen explored the river ten miles farther north to Maquon's Castle Mines on Haver Island below Cohoes Falls. They christened the crescent-shaped island, Half Moon, now a part of Westford, New York.

and Maquon, to break the string of their bows and throw their arrows into the fire.

Hudson returned the Mahicans' feast on board the ship, *Half Moon*, and served much *aqua-vitæ* (grape-juice) and Holland tobacco, the customary feast of Christian nations. The King became merry and confided his sorrows and his joys, and he considered *aqua-vitæ* the Great Manitou's "spirit waters of paradise," and Hudson's Delft pipe the *Calumet* (pipe of peace). Robert Juet recorded this ignoble feast in his *Journal* of the *Half Moon* as a "dry joke" played upon the savages in order to discover if there was any "treachery" in their natures.

Meanwhile the boatmen of the *Half Moon* explored the Grande River as far north as Cohoes Falls of the Mohawk, in search of a route to India. They christened the crescent-shaped Haver Island, the site of Castle Mœnemines of Maquon's Mahicansac Heroes, Halve-Maen, in honor of their ship. The names *Half Moon* and *Crescent* still cling to that region. Before Hudson set sail for England and Holland he presented the Mahicans and Hoosacs with axes, hoes, and stockings, and promised to return to them after a dozen moons. He accepted their tokens of skins and belts of wampum, interwoven with symbols of the *Swastika* and *Wakon-bird*.

"In the year 1610 Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master John Westenholm, with others of their friends, furnished out the said Henry Hudson to try if, through any of the passages which Davis saw, any passage might be found to the other ocean called the South Sea."

Hudson visited the Abenakis King at Schodac, and his English crew put handles in the Dutch axes and hoes that the councillors had worn lovingly as ornaments about their necks. They taught the warriors to fell the oak forests and mellow the cornfield, and after the savages beheld the su-

perior wisdom of the Christians, they made the woodlands ring with their musical laughter over their own stupidity.

The same season Hudson sailed North, where he discovered the bay bearing his name, and there he desired to winter. A mutiny arose and he and his son and seven of his faithful crew were abandoned and perished in this inhospitable region. By the home speeding ship Abacuck Pricket, one of the crew confined in the ship's cabin with rheumatism at the time, recorded that: "Henrie Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Philip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henrie King, and Michael Bute" were placed in a shallop supplied with guns, ammunition, fuel, iron-pot, and some meal. Henry Hudson, a son of the navigator, later became a sea-captain and settled in the Mahicans' canton. A lineal descendant of about the tenth generation bearing the name, Henry Hudson, at present resides in the city of North Adams on the upper Hoosac.

The Amsterdam merchants of Holland in 1615, with an eye to business, sent several Protestant Dutch Boers to take possession of Hudson's Mahicansac Valley. Capt. Hendrik Corstiaensen built Fort Nassoureen on Castle Island at Chescodonta, which was swept away by a freshet in 1618. However, in March 1624, thirty Protestant families of French Walloons from the Rhone Valley, set sail on Mey's ship, *Nieu Nederlandt*, from Amsterdam, and eighteen families joined the Boers. They located in the pine groves of Greenbush, near the site of Fort Crailo, and in June built Fort Aurania on the site of Albany.

The Mohawk King, jealous of the Mahican King Aepjen's alliance with the Christians, began to molest his Hoosacs and Mahicansacs and in 1628 drove them from their Saratoga fishing-weirs and Hoosac hunting-grounds. The Walloons and Boers kept a covetous eye upon the Mahicans'

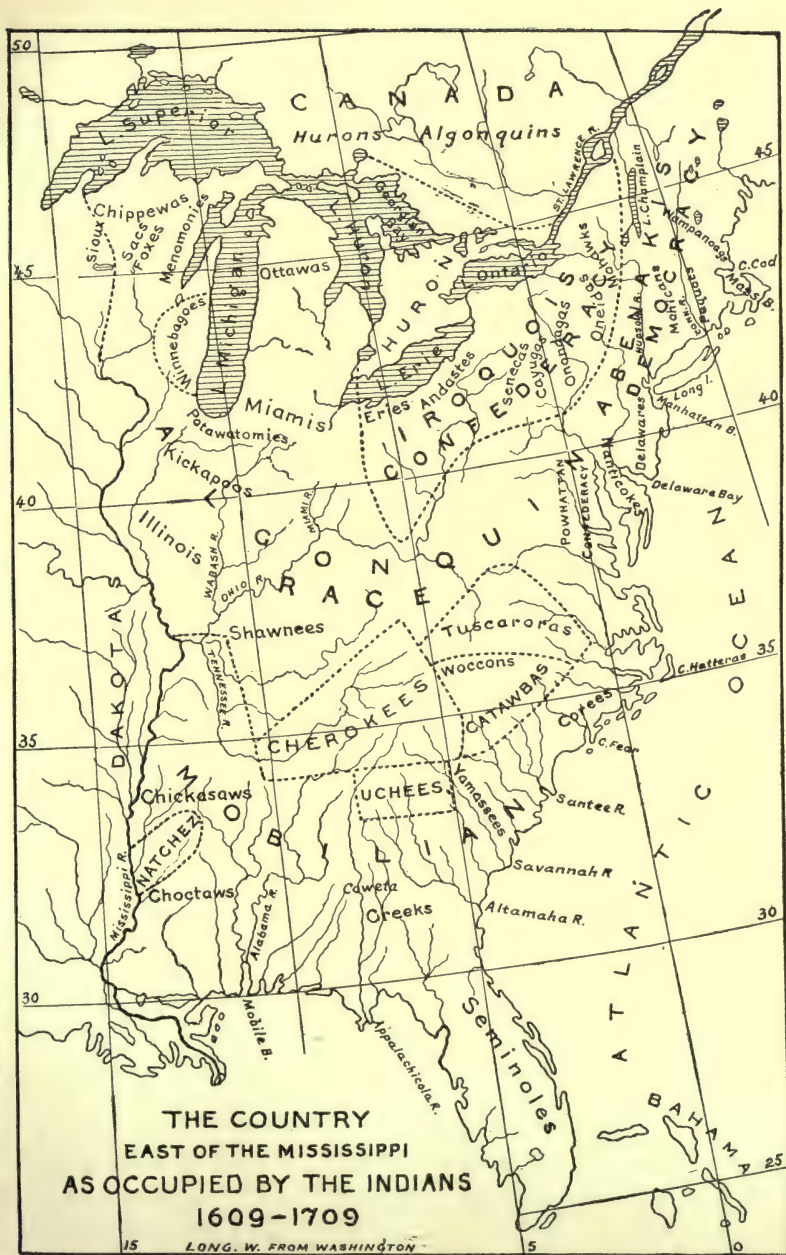
deserted cornfields, and Dominie Michaelous of Esopus, now Kingston, recorded in 1630 that: The Hoosacs and Mahicansacs have fled and "their lands are unoccupied, and they are very fertile and pleasant." The Walloons hunted about Soquon's Tioshoke cornfield and noted the ruins of Fort St. Croix, built by the St. Ange traders. Later they christened St. Croix River, Walloon Creek, and the Schaghticokes subsequently deeded the valley to them as the Walloomsac Tract. As recorded in the Albany Archives, the name has fifty different spellings. The Italian historian Carlos Botta¹ refers to the victory of Bennington in 1777 as won on "the banks of the Walloon Creek," now known as the Walloomsac.

The land upon both banks of the Hudson during the first century of our colonial history, therefore, was controlled by the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs, subject to the Schodac Council of the Abenakis Democracy until 1664.

The Lenni-Lenape grandfathers of the race of Great Unami, or Turtles, originally resided on the shores of Delaware and Manhattan bays. According to the Abenakis traditions, they claimed relation to a fabled tortoise—the Atlas of their mythology—represented as bearing an island, as they termed the earth, on his back. The *Kitsmac* seers attributed the *moodus-jargon* noises of thunder and earthquakes to the anger of the monster turtle, jarring the earth on his shoulders. They recognized him as *Hobba-mocko* (the Devil) and he was worshipped as the god of thunder.

Revolting bands of Turtles and Snakes ascended the rivers of the mountains at an unknown day, fighting their way to their kindred, the Bears and Wolves, about Chescodonta on the Hudson, and Hochelaga on the St. Lawrence.

¹ Carlos Botta, *History of the War of Independence*, Book viii., p. 34. George A. Otis, *Trans.*, 1826.



One powerful canton would hold the hunting-grounds of the Catskills and Helderbergs, or the Taconacs, Adirondacks, Green, and White mountains, for a time, until dispersed by a stronger race. These national conquests resulted in the Mahicansac Heroes taking possession of Hudson Valley. The isolated mixed sub-tribes of necessity soon modified the original musical tongue of their Lenni-Lenape grandfathers.

The three great totemic cantons of Delaware Turtles, Bears, and Wolves of Northeastern North America, spoken of as the Algonquin Race—men of the musical language of Great Unami—recognized each other as members of the Abenakis Democracy. They were enemies of the Huron Turtles, Bears, and Wolves of the Iroquois Confederacy of the Great Lake and Mohawk basins of the Northwest.

The Lenni-Lenapes, known also as Minquas, bore the totem of Great Unami, a fabled tortoise having a wild call—AQUA-MACHUKES. The Hoosacs bore the crest of Great Soqui, a fabled bear having a peculiar call—SO-QUIS,¹—under the nation's *Uk-hooh*—Owl Soquon; the Mahicansacs bore the crest of Great Minsi—a supernatural wolf whose utterance was MA-HI-CAN, under the nation's Hero Maquon.

Great Soqui was acknowledged to be the leading military canton, and the *Wi-gow-wauw* (great sachem or king) was chosen from the noble family of this race. The office vacated by death of the king, or any other cause, descended successively to his nephew—a sister's child—chosen by the vote of the Delaware, Mahican, and Algonquin councillors, at Chescodonta² or Schodac³ *We-ko-wohum* (castle of the Abenakis Democracy).⁴ Chescodonta, according to tradi-

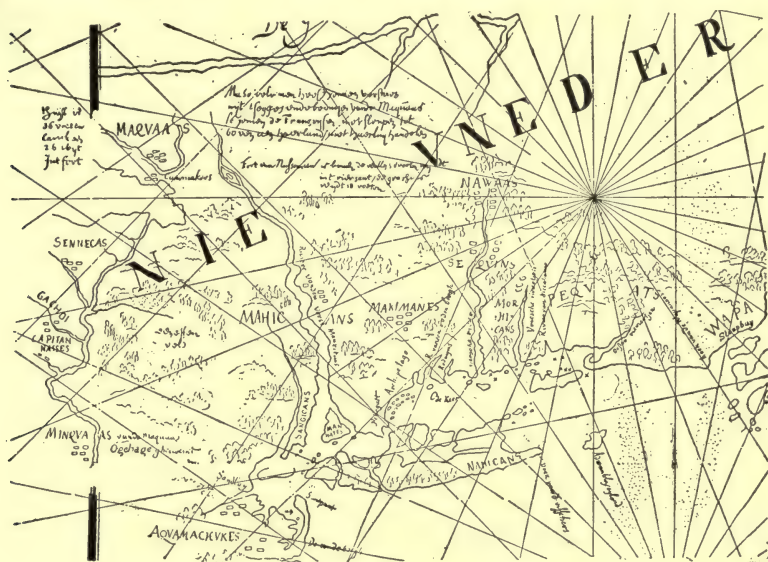
¹ Se-quins on Map of 1614.

² Chescodonta = *Ischoda*, straw-meadow; *on-akee*, hill-place, signifying the *Hill of Great Council-Fire of Abenakis Democracy*.

³ Schodac = *Esquatac*, Great Fire-Place of Abenakis Nation.

⁴ Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present*, p. 20, 1854.

tion, occupied the site of Albany Capitol between 1540 and 1595, under Uncus and Passaconaway. Schodac, the site of Castleton, on the east bank of the Hudson, was occupied by



Figurative Map of New Netherland in 1614.

This Map was prepared by Capt. Adriaen Block and covers that portion of New England explored by him. The ancient names of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, as well as the totemic designations of the military cantons of the Abenakis Democracy and Iroquois Confederacy are discernible. The Abenakis Castles Mænemines and Unuwat are not located. They should have been indicated on both banks of the river Mauritius, ten miles north of Fort Nassoureen, now the site of Albany.

Aepjen, evidently nephew and successor of Uncus, in 1609. He lighted the nation's council-fire on Aepjen's, or Bear's Island, containing ten acres of marsh grass. The most ancient names of Bear Island are reported to be Passapenock and Mahican, and the island was doubtless occupied for a time by Passaconaway's Pennacook Bears, and Uncus's Mahican Wolves.

The Pennacooks, Mahicans, Horicons, and Nawaas were dispersed, however, by the Mohawks before the arrival of Champlain and Hudson in 1609. The Horicons pushed north to Lake Andratoroct, now Lake George. The Pennacooks and Nawaas located on the east bank of the Connecticut; the former lighted their civil council-fire at Pawtucket, where Passaconaway, in 1660, at the age of one hundred and twenty years, made his farewell oration. His nephew and successor, Wanalancet, commanded the Pennacooks and lighted his council-fire at Penock, the site of Concord, N. H., in 1675. King Uncus and his Mahicans migrated south and located about Pequot Bay in Connecticut, where roamed flocks of turkeys. They adopted the crest of Great Unalacti, a fabled turkey, having a wild call—PE-QUAT, from which arose their new tribal name Pequots.

According to the Hollander's Map of 1614, the mixed Turtles, Snakes, and Turkeys were settled upon the coast of Delaware and New England. East of the Pequots resided the Wampanoags about Cape Cod Bay under Sachem Massasoit, who welcomed the English Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* in March, 1621; north of them resided the Maistchusaegs about Massachusetts Bay. In the Lake District of the Maine Woods were the fierce Abnaquis; west of them dwelt their kindred Pennacooks, and the Nawaas on the east bank of the Connecticut in the White Mountains; and on the west bank of the Connecticut in the Green and Taconac mountains resided Uk-hooh-quethoths (the Owl-Bears), known as Hoosacs and Soquonsacs of Great Soqui, led by Soquon. Between the Hudson and Delaware, south of the Mohawk divide, in the Helderberg and Catskill mountains, resided the Maquon-paus (the Hero-Wolves or Maquonsacs) known as Minquas and Mahicansacs of Great Unami and Great Minsi, led by Maquon or Minichqua.

The Hoosacs and Mahicansacs, therefore, occupied the

Sannahagog military districts on both banks of the Hudson about Cohoes Falls. They controlled castles Unuwat and Mœnemines, and guarded the portal leading west to the Mohawk Valley, and the trail north to their kindred Algonquins of Ticonderoga, known as the Adirondacks, situated on the shores of the Petonboque, the lake separating the Abenakis and Iroquois nations.

About 1609, King Aepjen pushed the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs up the Mohawk Valley and invited war. They boasted to their jealous enemies that they received the first kiss of the morning sun, and that the tribute which they paid was *not* to the Iroquois of the setting sun. The name, Mohawk, held no terror for the wise heroes of the East, although it still had for Uncus and Passaconaway, upon whose heads a price was set. Soquon and Maquon of Great Soqui and Great Minsi never yielded in battle until the last drop of blood of their enemy was shed. Hawkeye, the white hunter-scout of Falls Quequick of the Hoosac, mentioned in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, says: "Look to a Delaware, or a Mohican, for a warrior!"

The Canadas later called *all* the mixed races of Abenakis Turtles, Bears, and Wolves of New York and New England, Manhingans (Loups, or wild dogs), owing to the prevailing totem of the *Great Minsi* (Wolf) tattooed on the warriors' breasts, from which arose the present name Mohegan. These warriors, known as the Algonquin Race to the Jesuits, controlled the Hudson-Champlain and Connecticut waterways from the environs of Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence, south to Delaware, Manhattan, Pequot, and Wampanoag bays.

The fugitive King Uncus resided on the Mohegoneck River about Pequot Bay and attended the national councils of the Abenakis Democracy at Schodac on the Hudson. Part of his warriors, however, revolted in 1636, and he and

fifty of his tribesmen were forced to seek aid of the Christians about Fort Good Hope. Two years later the English of Hartford conquered the warring Pequots, and Uncus formed a treaty of peace with the Yankee traders. The fugitive Pequots were forced to leave their native valley Mohegoneck and take another tribal name. They migrated east and lighted their civil council-fire on the Narrow High-gansetts, between the Mohegoneck and Varsch, or Fresh River, of Connecticut, and took the name Narragansetts.

The Pilgrims obtained a deed of Uncus's Mohegoneck hunting-grounds for a few kegs of *aqua-vitæ*, and he retained the tribal name, Mahicans, for his surviving Snake and Turtle warriors. The Mohegoneck River was christened the Thames by the New Londoners who arrived in 1638. Uncus lived until after King Philip's Mahican Revolution and was noted for his love of wines and cider brandy. His brother-in-law, Chingachgook (Big Snake), migrated to Falls Quequick in Hoosac Valley and became the father of Uncus, a nephew and last successor of King Uncus of Great Unami. Big Snake and his royal son met the hunter-scout, Leather-Stocking, at Falls Quequick village, and they all figure in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.

Centuries before Champlain and Hudson arrived, the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs claimed to have built fishing-weirs at Ochserantogue—the place of swift waters on Fish Creek, the outlet of Lake Saratoga. It became a national fishing and hunting-ground for the people of the Abenakis Democracy, although the warriors of the Iroquois Confederacy from the Northwest were not allowed the freedom of the weirs. The Horicons and Algonquins of Adirondack and Ticonderoga hunting-grounds knew Fish Creek as Sa-ra-ta-kee—the place where the muddy moccasin heel of the Mohawk and Huron Mingos showed on the rocks about their weirs. Fish Creek Valley became known as the place

of herring and a war-trail between the Mohawks and Hoosacs.

The Iroquois Confederacy comprised three great totemic cantons of Huron Turtles, Bears, and Wolves, residing in the Great Lake and Mohawk basins. The Bears and Wolves included six sub-cantons in their order: Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The Tuscaroras, according to tradition, warred with the Mohawks and migrated to North Carolina about 1595, after which the Iroquois Confederacy comprised only Five Nations. During 1714, the Mohawk King forced the Tuscaroras to return and aid him against the invading Christians, after which the Iroquois Confederacy became known as the Six Nations.

The Mahicans were always hereditary enemies of the Mohawks, and Caniaderaunte, the lake that is the gate of the country, now Lake Champlain, was from time immemorial the dividing line between the two military cantons of warring Bears of the Abenakis and Iroquois nations. After Champlain aided the Algonquins of the Adirondacks to scatter their Mohawk enemies in panic with his weapons of the sky, during July, 1609, the Ticonderoga and Horicon forests for two centuries until 1815 became "the dark and bloody ground" of warfare.

Between 1609 and 1616, there were forty thousand warriors of the Abenakis Democracy residing on the coasts of New Netherland and New England. Daniel Gookin, the historian, was informed by a Wampanoag sachem that thousands died the latter year from a scourge that caused its victims to resemble "the color of a yellow garment." King Aepjen's Hoosacs and Mahicansacs of Schodac, Unuwat, and Moenemines castles suffered also from disease and famine in 1638. It appears that hundreds died from smallpox spread among them by the Christian traders, and were buried in the *Tawasentha* (vale of the many

dead) in the ravine of Norman's Kill near Castleton-on-the-Hudson.

Between the close of the Pequot War, in 1638, and the English conquest of the Dutch, in 1664, King Aepjen's warriors usually spent the winter in the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys. The royal Schodacs encamped on the Wigow-wauw Brook, known as Nana-Apen-ahican Creek, flowing about Monument Mountain in Stockbridge, Mass., on the Housatonac; and near the confluence of Wash-Tub Brook with the Hoosac River, west of Kreigger Rocks in Pownal, Vt. The latter is distinguished for its *Cohohas* (pot-holes or wash-basins). Maquon also occupied the pine grove in the Mayoonsac near the Natural Bridge on the upper Hoosac. The pine grove at River Bend and Sand Spring camps in Williamstown, and the Sand Hills on the Ashawagsac at the base of the "Forbidden Hoosac Mountain" in Massachusetts proved snug winter lodges. Other camp-grounds have been located in the Walloomsac and Batten Kill passes of Manchester and Arlington, Vermont, about the base of Equinox and Mount Æolus.

The warriors resided in the evergreen forests of the Taconac passes until the new moon of February. This was a harbinger of spring and the squaws at once began to make maple sugar and soon moved their deer-skin tents to the banks of the Hudson and the shores of Lake Saratoga for the fishing season. The Pinxster Festival consisted of a feast of fish, after the squaws had planted the corn, bean, pumpkin, and squash fields. Their warriors then started forth on hunting expeditions or the war-path until Pan's Festival of the Pass, held during the harvest moon of October. This was a feast of venison and corn-cake, celebrated on Pass-Apenock Island, now Bear's Island, and later in Pan-Hoo-sac, near Unuwat's castle on the Hudson, after which the warriors returned to their winter lodges.

Each winter lodge and summer planting-ground bore separate names. The chiefs and petty-sagamores held local government over their lodges, except during times of war, when they were subject to Soquon's and Maquon's councils at Unuwat and Mœnemines castles.

Numerous planting-grounds have been located in the Hoosac Valley, including Soquon's Tioshoke cornfield of twelve acres at the junction of Owl Kill with the Hoosac; the Tohkonac cornfield and orchard on the hills southwest of Buttermilk Falls on the Tomhannac Creek; the Pompanac pumpkin and bean fields of Mawwehu on the Pumpkin Hook, a branch of White Creek; the Falls Quequick fields of Keep-erdo, who was known to the Dutch as "Hoosac or Mahican Abraham"; the Onakee fields of Chingachgook (Big Snake) on Indian Hill in Hoosac; Maquon's Cohoha cornfield about the junction of Wash-Tub Brook with the Hoosac in Pownal; Orcombright's Wampansac camp on Indian Brook near the Council Elm on Green River, and Grey-Lock's camp about the Wampanoag's Sand Springs in Williamstown. River Bend camp-ground, in the pine groves north of Moody Bridge in Williamstown, was considered the most picturesque lodge on the Mahican and Mohawk war-path in New England, until the forests were cleared about 1765. Other planting-grounds have been located in Arlington and Manchester Vt., on the Walloomsac and Batten Kill headwaters.

According to the English and Moravian missionaries under Jonathan Sergeant and the German Count Zinzendorf, there were forty Mahican villages located among the Green and Taconac forests on the headwaters of the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys between 1734 and the close of the French and Indian War. Chief among those lodges may be mentioned King Aepjen's Schaghticoke village, in Sheffield, Mass., on upper Housatonac; Soquon's and Maquon's Old Schaghticoke village, N. Y., on lower Hoosac, and Maw-

wehu's New Schaghticoke village, in Kent, Ct., on the lower Housatonac.

Implements of war, soil-cultivating tools, and symbols of worship, have been unearthed throughout the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys. The Skeetecook meadow, which was the site of Maquon's Still Water lodge of the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts, known as the River Indians, at the junction of the Hoosac with the Hudson, has yielded its mixed crop of Mahican quartz and Mohawk flint arrows, scalping knives, tomahawks, clay pipes, and hominy-pounders. In the Skatecook meadow, the site of Soquon's village of Mingling Waters, at the confluence of the Tomhannac with the Hoosac near the Witenagemot Oak, have been found several relics, including a ceremonial *Calumet*, or pipe of peace. It was long preserved by the late Col. William Knickerbacker, and is now in Prof. D. F. Thompson's collection of Indian relics in Lansingburg, N. Y.

Every burial mound has yielded its customary "weapons of rest." In some rare instances, a *Wakon-bird* stone, carved from quartz, representing a dove or bird of paradise, has been unearthed in the tombs of the *Kitsmac* (pow-wow priest), indicating his holy office. In the Abenakis King's burial-field on Indian Hill, near Lake Onota or Onetho, at Pontoosac—place of winter deer of Housatonac Valley—a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures of the Great Spirit was unearthed in 1815.¹ Indian Cemetery and the Sand Hills, in North Adams; River Bend and Sand Spring Grove, in Williamstown, Mass.; Indian Hill, in Hoosac, and the burial-fields of Old Schaghticoke, N. Y., have also revealed their "weapons of rest."

The Mohawk and Hoosac War that began in 1609 raged again in August, 1626. Most of the Dutch Boers and French Walloons of Fort Orange and Greenbush took to their flat-bottomed boats and sailed down the Hudson to their New

¹ Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present*, p. 24, 1854.

Amsterdam kindred. Capt. Daniel Van Krieckebeek, however, remained in command of Fort Orange; he and six of his soldiers aided Soquon and Maquon of Unuwat and Moëne-mines castles, against the ambuscades of the Mohawks, a mile north of Fort Orange near Buttermilk Falls. Captain Van Krieckebeek and three of his men were slain, Tymen Bouwensen was roasted and devoured by the Mohawks, and the others were burned and buried. According to the ancient custom of the Indians, they reserved "a leg and an arm" to take home to their families as proof that they had conquered their enemies.

Nicholaes Wassenaer, the historian of New Amsterdam, recorded that the savage warfare caused a depression in the fur-trade at Fort Orange. Battles continued to rage on both banks of the Hudson, reaching eastward about Greenbush and throughout Kinderhook Valley. During 1628, Soquon and Maquon led their warriors up the Mohawk Valley and set a torch to the Iroquois castles on the Great Flats near the site of Schenectady. The Mohawks slew great numbers and drove the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs from the Ochserantogue fishing-weirs and Schaahtecogue hunting-grounds. They forced them up the Dianondehowa trail, known as the Batten Kill Pass, over the Green Mountains to Coos Falls on the west bank of the Connecticut.

Here the Mahican squaws cleared the Coos Meadows and cultivated corn and bean fields, while the warriors took the tribal name Coosacs or Soquonsacs under Soquon, and began to polish implements of war. The Moodus war-spirit was inborn in them and they sought revenge. Soon they won the ear of the fugitive Passaconaway and with the aid of their Pennacook and Abnaquis kindred of the East, they continued to occupy their native fishing and hunting-grounds of the Taconacs and for forty-one years harassed the Mohawk Mingos.

In the half century after 1615, when Fort Nassoureen was built on Castle Island, the Dutch, French, and English colonists had crowded in from all sides. Continued warfare had greatly thinned the Delaware and Mahican ranks, and their courage was so depleted by rum, their crops so scant, and their fishing and hunting-grounds so ruined, that King Aepjen of Schodac, in 1664, was forced through famine to move the Abenakis Democracy's council-fire eastward to the junction of Green River with the Housatonac, in Sheffield, Mass. He took the national name Skatecook and in 1734 his warriors were there discovered by the English missionaries, Jonathan Sergeant and Samuel Hopkins. Aepjen's military council-fires at castles Moenemines and Unuwat, below Cohoes Falls, and at Catskill Castle also ceased to burn in 1662. That year Gov. Peter Stuyvesant, known as Swannekings, persuaded Kryn's Mohawks to make peace with the warring Soquonsacs. But instead of gaining a reconciliation the Mohawks' embassy was slain near Soquon's Coos Castle.

During the eventful spring of 1664, Governor Stuyvesant summoned a general conference of all the sachems of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys at Fort Amsterdam. The Lenni-Lenape orator opened the council with a prayer to *Hobbamocko*, or *Bachtamo* (the evil fiend of calamity); and he begged the Great Manitou also to aid them in concluding a treaty of enduring peace with the Christians. Again Swannekings advised them to send peace commissioners to Soquon's Coos and Penobscot castles. The Peace of Narrington was concluded between the Mohawk and Hoosac commissioners May 14, 1664. Governor Stuyvesant signed the Christians' treaty of peace a week later, and this was announced by a salute from the guns of Fort Amsterdam, and June 4th was proclaimed Thanksgiving Day throughout New Netherlands.



Pieter Stuyvesant, the Last of the Dutch Governors of New Netherland.

He was known as Swannekins to the Delawares and Mahicans and, after making peace between the Hoosacs and Mohawks, celebrated the first Thanksgiving Day in New Netherland June 4th, before the conquest of the English in July, 1664.

Oaths and treaties, however, lay lightly on the Mahicans' conscience and warfare still raged. An avenging war-party of Abnaquis from the Maine Woods joined the Hoosacs and on July 11th besieged the Dutch and Kryn's Mohawk allies about Fort Crailo in Greenbush. Abraham Staats, his wife, and Negro slave were scalped, and his mansion left in flames, while the warriors descended to Claverack, plundering and murdering as they went. Governor Stuyvesant was unable to despatch his Fort Amsterdam militia to aid the tenants of Rensselaerwyck against the incursions of the savages, as the English war-fleet was already heard cannonading in New Amsterdam harbor. On July 27th, Col. Richard Nicolls sailed up the Hudson as far as Nyack Bay; Fort Amsterdam surrendered to the Duke of York and Albany on September 8th, and became Fort James. Colonel Nicolls assumed the office of Governor of New York Province; and on September 24th Fort Orange became Fort Albany.

The English conquest of Dutch New Netherland aroused the bitter jealousy of the French of New France. The Governor-General and his Jesuit chaplains at once began to strengthen their alliance with the Algonquins and Hurons. Later they founded a line of palisaded mission villages among the Mahicans of Maine Woods, White and Green mountains; and later assisted the Algonquins of St. Lawrence to harass their Mohawk enemies. During the autumn of 1666, the gouty Marquis De Tracy headed a band of French and Algonquins and succeeded in burning Kryn's Mohawk Shonowe village and castle. He hoisted the lily flag of France, and the Jesuit chaplain unfurled the Roman banner St. Croix, on a high pole above the smouldering ruins, and thus proclaimed their conquest of the Mohawk Valley.

The venerable Maquon, or Minichqua, then held a council with Soquon at Coos Castle, and it was decided that the



Hoosacs and Mahicansacs should take advantage of Kryn's sad plight and drive the Mohawks from their Saratoga and Hoosac hunting-grounds forever. Soquon rallied all his warriors from the East and marched through the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs to Kryn's Gandawague village in the Mohawk Valley. Kryn was soon humbled, and during the early spring of 1667 he was forced to send an embassy to beg aid from the hated Canadas against Soquon's deadly raids.

The Governor-General of New France despatched the Jesuit Fathers, believed to have been Pierron, Fremin, Beschefer, and Nicholas, who aided the Mohawks to fortify the war-trails. They led the Mohawks up the Hoosac Valley to the junction of the Walloomsac, and it is believed that they built a palisaded fort and forest chapel on the site of Fort St. Croix, founded by the St. Ange traders in 1540.

During the summer of 1668 Kryn and his Mohawks drove Soquon up the Hoosac, and he and his warriors took refuge beneath Weeping Rocks, in the narrow pass of Pownal. The Mahicans held a tradition that they would not be conquered until the "rocks wept." That faith sustained them during a century of conflict with the Mohawks, until they sought the shelter beneath the Pudding-stone Cliffs and beheld the "tear-drops" which flowed from the mountain. The pursuing Mohawks were close at hand and slew nearly the whole band of panic-stricken warriors.

Silent they fell at their chieftain's side,
And Hoosac blushed with the purple tide.

Here mourn the rocks a nation's woe,
And tear-drops from the mountain flow!¹

After the massacre at Weeping Rocks, Soquon made his escape, torn and wounded, over the Hoosac Mountain trail,

¹ *Williams College Quarterly.*

and sought the aid of his kindred Pennacooks under the stern Wampanoag chieftain, Grey-Lock, of the Agawam forests of Massachusetts. During Soquon's final siege against Kryn's Mohawks, headed possibly by their Jesuit chaplain, Boniface, in the late autumn of 1669, the Hoosacs and their allies burned Fort St. Croix and the mission chapel and slew nearly all the fleeing Mohawks and their children. Several warriors made their escape up Kayadrosseras trail, by way of Fish Creek, to the Mohawk Valley. The last mortal fight took place on a hill known as Kinaquarione, east of Hoffman Station, N. Y.

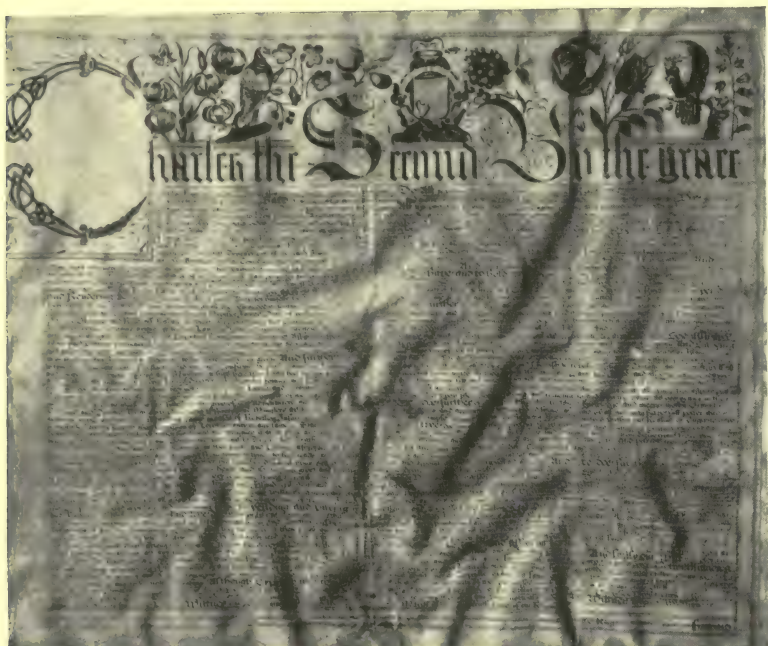
All contemporary records of the Hoosacs' and Mahicansacs' victory over Kryn's Mohawks were lost. At best the Mingos' traditions of their own defeat, as well as the reports of the French Jesuits who aided them, and the documentary records of the grasping Dutch and English officials of Fort Albany and Fort Schenectady, reach back only to silence and fable. Historians usually accept the Mingos' dishonest traditions and have never given the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs the credit of their military prowess or victories. Father Fremin affirmed, however, that he baptized fifty-three Mohawks between 1666 and 1669, although "nearly *all* of them had gone to heaven."¹

Conclusive proof of the final conquest of Soquon and Maquon over Kryn's Mohawks is found in the Mahican title-deeds² recorded in Albany, Berkshire, and Bennington County Clerks' Offices to-day, confirming patents of their hunting-grounds in Hudson Valley, Lakes Saratoga, George, and Champlain, and the Hoosac, Walloomsac, and Batten Kill basins. Although the Mohawks in 1628 claimed the right of conquest over the Hoosacs' and Mahicansacs' Saratoga fishing-grounds, known as the Kayonderossera Tract,

¹ Gen. William Johnson, MSS., pp. 170-173, 1767.

² Ruttenber, *History of Indian Tribes of Hudson River*, p. 59, 1872.

the Mahican Bears and Wolves, by right of their final conquest over the Mohawks in 1669, confirmed that tract as Saratoga Patent to the Dutch patroons in 1682 under Gov.



Charter of New York, granted by King Charles II to his brother James, the Duke of York and Albany, March 12, 1664. It is one of the oldest extant documents of New York State, and led to the downfall of the Dutch in 1664, and the land-title quarrels of 1764—resulting in the Revolution and the victory of the Americans over the British at Bennington and Old Saratoga in 1777.

Thomas Dongan. As late as 1767 the Delaware and Mahican descendants at Old Stockbridge continued to dispute the Mohawks' right to deed their Schaghticoke ancestors' forests on the upper Hudson, "to the prejudice of the Mohawks."¹

The Hoosacs' victory, however, was not purchased without

¹ Gen. William Johnson, MSS., p. 33, 1767.

the loss of brave heroes, and the death of their chosen war-captain, Chekatabut of the Pennacooks, known to the English as Josiah. Historian Drake¹ quaintly describes him in his *Book of the Indians* as "a wise man, and a stout man of middle stature."

The boasted terror of Kryn's Mohawks in 1669 vanished from the Hoosac and Saratoga hunting-grounds forever. Yet the Iroquois, famous for the dishonesty and treachery taught them by their French allies, patronizingly called the venerable Maquon, Soquon, Grey-Lock, and Wanalancet, "squaw sachems," "their children, and their nephews"; and the English and Dutch, "pale-faced dogs!"

The Mohawks in 1726, aided by the white cunning of the Yankee Pilgrim and Dutch trader, in the hope of gaining territorial supremacy, entrapped the Delawares and Mahicans into signing a treaty of neutrality in war against the Christians. In 1742, at the Philadelphia Council, the Mohawk orator, Canassatiego, exclaimed at last: "We conquered you, we made women of you; you know you are women; we charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you liberty to think about it." The sachems of Wappanachki after that were styled *women*, and *nephews* of the Iroquois, and they called the Mohawks their uncles. They still retained the prophet's commandments on the Prayer-stick of Great Unami, and until they migrated to Miami hunting-grounds in Ohio Valley, bore a hominy-pestle, instead of a tomahawk, in their hands.

The Hoosacs' *Tawasentha* (burial-field and shrine of sacrifice) until 1669 occupied the fifteen-acre meadow on the south bank of the Hoosac, opposite the Fallen-hill in Old Schaghticoke. A century ago a natural obelisk of limestone-breccia towered nearly one hundred feet from the river bed beneath the Fallen-hill. It was known to the Mahicans and

¹ Samuel G. Drake, *Particular History*.

Delawares as Hobbamocko's shrine, or the Devil's Chimney. About this monument the Mahicans hung offerings, including *Swastika*, *Calumet*, corn, and skins, to appease the fiend of calamity there. After they moved to the Mississippi



Site of the Devil's Chimney, known to the Hoosacs as Hobbamocko's Altar, at the base of the Fallen-hill in Old Schaghticoke, New York. The Tarwasentha (Burial-Place of the Many Dead) occupied the south bank of the Hoosac opposite the Fallen-hill.

*This bank, in which the dead were laid,
Was sacred when its soil was ours;
Hither the silent Indian maid
Brought wreaths of beads and flowers,
And the gray chief and gifted seer
Worshipped the god of thunders here."*

BRYANT, *An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers.*

Valley it remained their custom to hang offerings on an oak near the Cascade of St. Anthony of Padua in memory of their Witenagemot Oak in their "Vale of Peace." Thomas Moore in 1804 alluded to the Indian's sacrificial legend in his poem, *The Evil Spirit of the Woods*:

Unto the dangerous pass
O'er the deep and dark morass,
Here the trembling Indian brings
Belts of porcelain, pipes, and rings,
Tributes, to be hung in air,
To the Fiend presiding there!

The Mahicans believed in the renewal of the associations of this life beyond the grave. A small opening was usually left in the burial mound for the flight of the *Wakon-bird* (Spirit-dove), representing the departing soul. Symbols of the Holy Ghost, resembling doves or birds of paradise, were carved from quartz by the seers. They were known as *Manitou-aseniah* (Spirit-stones), used by the *Kitsmac-i-Moodus* (pow-wow prophet) in his burial ceremonies. Moore also mentions the chant of the Indian Spirit Warble of the *Wakon-bird* in the Manitoulin-groves:

Breathing all its holy bloom,
Swift I mount me on my plume,
Of my Wakon-Bird, and fly
Far beneath the burning sky.

To the land beyond the sea,
Whither happy spirits flee;
Where transformed to sacred doves,
Many a blessed Indian roves
Through the air on wing as white
As those wondrous stones of light.

Only those that are willing to follow the trail of the Evil Spirit of the Woods will breathe the fragrance of the Hoosac's Manitoulin-meadow, where, on the shady bank of their native river, bloom gigantic priests-in-the-pulpit and great Solomon's-seals, marking the mounds of the departed sachems of Wappanachki.

The Hoosac Valley

Now the wheat is green and high
On clods that hid the warrior's breast,
And scattered in the furrows lie
The weapons of his rest;
And there, in the loose sand, is thrown
Of his large arm the mouldering bone.¹

¹ Bryant, *An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers*.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHAGHTICOKES' WITENAGEMOT TREE

1669-1676

*O Vale of Peace! O haunt serene!
O hill-encircled shades!*

*The red-browed Indian's planted name
Your blended waters bore,
Though they who erst that baptism gave
Beneath oblivion's blackening wave
Have sunk to rise no more.*

MRS. SIGOURNEY, *Schaghticoke and Knickerbackers.*

Triumph of the Hoosacs and Maquonsacs, 1669—Organization of the Schaghticokes, 1676—King Philip's Revolution, 1675-1676—Mahican Owl Soquon and Hero Maquon—Sachems Grey-Lock and Mawwehu—Assemblage of the Wise—Planting of the Witenagemot Oak, 1676—Council Tree of Peace To-day.

AFTER the final triumph of the Hoosacs and Mahicansacs over the Mohawks in the late autumn of 1669, Sir Francis Lovelace, then Governor of New York, visited Albany, in April, 1670, to make peace with them and the humbled Mohawk sachem, Kryn. The Ochserantogue Tract on both banks of the Hudson, extending from Mœneminnes Castle below Cohoes Falls northward indefinitely to Canada, was assigned to Maquon, known as the Hero's Mahicansac Valley. The Schaahtecogue Tract, extending from Unuwat Castle and the junction of Skatecook Creek—Hoosac River with the Hudson—eastward to the "Forbidden Hoosac Mountain," was assigned to Soquon, known as the Owl's Hoosac Valley.

The same spring the defeated Jesuit Fathers founded the

beautiful village of La Prairie de la Magdelene on the St. Lawrence in New France. They soon removed all their converts from both the Iroquois and Abenakis missions in the Mohawk and Hoosac cantons to La Prairie. About August, 1671, however, several Hoosac and Mohawk warriors were "linked together in interests," as scouts employed by the English officials of Fort Albany to patrol the Ticonderoga war-trails to Canada. During March, 1672, King Charles II. declared war against the Netherlands, and late in June, 1673, a Dutch fleet sailed into New York Bay, and the English province again became New Netherland. The Dutch captain, Anthony Colve, supplanted Governor Lovelace; Fort James was rechristened Fort William Hendrick, and New York was changed to New Orange; Fort Albany became Fort Nassau, and the town Willemstadt.

General confusion now reigned among the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts of the English and Dutch officials, and fifteen "Praying Mohawks" in 1672 joined their Huron kindred under the Jesuits at Notre Dame de Foy near Quebec. The Mohawk sachem, Kryn, soon became jealous of the dignity of Soquon and Maquon at the Albany Dutch Church and Court House. He visited his kindred at La Prairie in 1673, and was converted to the Roman Catholic faith, after which he returned to his Gandawague village in the Mohawk Valley and became reconciled with his deserted wife. He then induced about forty of his warriors, their squaws, and children to locate in Canada at the village of St. François Xavier du Prez, on the Prairie. Later they moved to St. François Xavier du Sault, near the Rapids of St. Louis. The revengeful Kryn and his mixed bands of "Praying Indians" from both the Iroquois and Abenakis nations adopted the new tribal name, Caughnawaga (warriors of the laughing, leaping waters), and he later headed all the Jesuit forays against the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts,

loyal to the Protestant Church of New York and New England.

The Mohawk and Hoosac War did not cease fully until after Kryn's removal to La Prairie in 1673. This was confirmed by the report of the Jesuit missionaries, and also by Lieutenant-Governor Colden in his *History of the Five Nations* of the Iroquois, who says that actual peace between the Mohawks' and Hoosacs' kindred of the Maine Woods was not established until about that time. The Hoosacs and Maquonsacs, however, after their victory over the Mohawks in 1669, remained in full possession of the Saratoga and Hoosac hunting-grounds, and their Neversink and Hackensac kindred about that time asked permission of the Dutch officials of New Jersey to visit them. The Treaty of Westminster, however, closed the Dutch and English War in February, 1674, and the colonial forts and cities of New Netherland were again turned over to the English. During the following July, Sir Edmund Andros was appointed Governor of New York.

After taking possession of New Netherland in 1664 and again in 1674, the English adopted equal laws regarding the sale of liquor, for the protection of the Indian and Christian alike. The sale or gift of "rum, strong waters, wine and brandy," without license, was forbidden under penalty of "forty shillings for each pint so sold or disposed of." Rail-fences were provided for the protection of the Indians' cornfields, since domestic animals were unknown to the savages and they frequently killed the cows and pigs; and it is recorded likewise that several greedy Dutch burghers, caught in their cornfields, were also slain.

The Indian Commissioners reproved and punished the warriors for killing the stock and scalping the Christians, yet it was difficult to make them understand personal ownership of large animals similar to the deer and moose. The

peace, which was more dreamed of than realized under Gov. Peter Stuyvesant's reign, was in a measure effected under the administration of the English. Soquon and Maquon and their chieftains and petty-sagamores, when finally settled in the Hoosac and Saratoga hunting-grounds, became loyally attached to the English Governor, whom they subsequently called Brother Corlear, the Indian's Friend, in memory of Capt. Arendt Van Curler, or Corlear, of Fort Schonowe, the Dutch village on the site of Schenectady, and who was, in 1667, accidentally drowned in Lake Corlear, now Lake Champlain.

The years of 1675 and 1676 were troubled by the Mahican uprising against the Christians for their unjust negotiations for the sachems' hunting-grounds on the New England and New York coast. The revolt was headed by Metcom, successor of the sachem Massasoit, known to the Pilgrims as King Philip of Macedonia. This involved the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Pequots, and bands of their kindred Maquonsacs, Hoosacs, and Pennacooks residing in the Hudson and Connecticut valleys. King Aepjen at that time was located on the Nana-Apen-ahican Creek, flowing about Wawa-on-a-quass-ick (hill of great heaps of stone), known as Monument Mountain in Old Stockbridge. The seer, Passaconaway, in 1660, advised his Pennacooks to "take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors," as it would prove the means of their own destruction. His successor, Wanalancet, therefore, in 1675 removed his warriors to Penock, the site of Concord, New Hampshire, and took no part in the conflict.

The stern Wampanoag chieftain, Grey-Lock, so named from his grey-lock of hair, commanded the Woranoaks, residing on the site of Northfield and Springfield in the Agawam hunting-grounds. During 1675, in company with the young Pequot sachem, Mawwehu, and two hundred and

fifty warriors, he also fled over the Mahican trail to their kindred on the Hudson. They were observed by Major John Talcot's Connecticut militia, near the site of Westfield, and pursued to the headwaters of the Housatonac and Hoosac valleys. Forty-five Indians were slain or captured, twenty-five of whom were considered King Philip's fiercest warriors.

Grey-Lock and Mawwehu, however, torn and wounded, in company with two hundred warriors, made their escape to Dutch Claverack and located with their kindred at Potic and Esopus in the Catskills and Helderbergs, until after the close of hostilities, when they joined Soquon's lodge at Old Schaghticoke on the lower Hoosac. A fleeing band of Wanalancet's Pennacooks were later pursued up the Connecticut Valley by the English militia. They sought shelter with their kindred Algonquins under the Jesuits and organized the St. Francis Indian village on River St. Francis between Quebec and Montreal. Grey-Lock later joined the Jesuits and built Fort St. Regis on the Missisquoi Bay in the lower Champlain Valley of the Green Mountains, and Mawwehu built his lodge at Pompanac on the White Creek, in the Walloomsac Valley. Grey-Lock and Kryn now became the leaders of the "Praying Indians" and headed the St. Regis and St. François warriors in all their forays against the English and Dutch settlements during Father Râle's Jesuit War, between 1676 and the death of Râle in 1724. Kryn was slain in 1690, while heading a band of savages against the English on Salomon River, and Grey-Lock fell after burning Northfield in 1724.

After the Pennacooks were comfortably located under the Jesuits at their villages of Becancour and St. Francis, several young chieftains visited King Aepjen and Soquon, urging them and their petty-sagamores located in the Housatonac and Hoosac valleys to join them in Canada in the name of the Governor of New France. Gov. Edmund Andros

of New York as early as March, 1675, organized a Board of Indian Commissioners at Albany, and with a promptness equal to that of the Governor of Canada, and from similar motives, urged the St. Francis fugitives of King Philip's War to return, and engage as scouts under King Aepjen and his Owl, Soquon, and Hero. Maquon and several did so.

Diplomacy was as necessary in the wilds of the Mahican and Mohawk hunting-grounds as in the towered cities of Europe, and Governor Andros, like his predecessor, was no mean strategist. During August, 1675, a second treaty was made with the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts, at which time they swore fealty to the Duke of York and Albany. The people of Albany, during the December following, were frightened by a report that King Philip and one thousand of his fiercest savages were only forty miles east of them. It seemed probable that Albany was their objective point, as the Hudson was frozen over and the Indians could easily cross over and burn the town. Captain Brockhalls, then commander of Fort Albany and its outposts, despatched three hundred Hoosac and Mohawk scouts eastward to meet Philip's war-party. In less than a month the scouts met five hundred of Philip's savage militia and returned to Fort Albany, bringing with them a number of scalps and prisoners. The expedition saved Albany, although Hadley, Springfield, Northfield, and Deerfield had already been plundered and burned.

After this, King Philip remained in hiding, and the Christians made an arrangement or treaty with the "Praying sachems" of King Aepjen's Mahicans of New England, to capture Philip and his fugitives. The Governor of New York later requested the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts of Schaghticoke to seek to capture Philip and his warriors in order to win the valuable rewards offered. It is needless

to record that Soquon and Maquon were loyal to Philip's cause, while the sneaking treachery of the Mohawk scouts led them to hunt him down like a dog. Unbeknown to the Christians and the Mohawks, King Philip, Grey-Lock, Mawwehu, and the sires of Osceola, Black Hawk, and Uncus of Uncus, found refuge at Soquon's Schaghticoke village, near the junction of the Tomhannac with the Hoosac, during the deep snows of December, 1675, and January, 1676.

During the autumn of 1675, King Philip's War appears to have raged about the headwaters of the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys, but owing to the uncommon depth of snow in the mountainous passes, actual fighting ceased during December and January, and in February, a sudden thaw left the ground bare. The place of refuge of King Philip and his leading chieftains then became known to the Mohawk Mingos, and the scouts soon drove them over the Hoosac Mountain trail to the Squakheags' lodges on the Connecticut River, where a few of Philip's faithful warriors made a final rally against the Christians.

The Mahican treaty with the Christians, dated at Petaquanset, New England, on July 15, 1676, was sent by Governor Andros of New York to Soquon, and read as follows:

The said Sachem shall carefully seize all and every one of Philip's subjects, and deliver them up to the English alive or dead; that they shall use all acts of hostility against Philip and his subjects, to kill them wherever they can be found; that if they seize Philip and deliver him alive to the English, they shall receive forty tunking cloth coats; and for his head, alone, twenty of said coats; and for every subject of said Philip, two coats if alive, and one, if dead.

The Hoosac Valley

In presence and signed by marks (totems) of:

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Daniel Hinchman, | Sachem Jamageson, |
| Thomas Prentice, | " Tayson, |
| Nicholas Page, | " Agamang, |
| Joseph Stanton, | " Wampugh <i>alias</i> Colman, |
| Henry Hawlins, | Interpreters—probably |
| Peter Bruce, | Indians ¹ . |
| John Neff. | |

When on August 12, 1676, King Philip was besieged in the Great Swamp near Pokanoket council-seat at Mount Hope in Bristol, Rhode Island, and shot through the heart by one of his faithless warriors, the Mahican Revolution was at an end. During its brief course three great cantons of the Abenakis Democracy, including Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Pennacook-Mahicans, had been almost totally slain or banished from their native hunting-grounds. The loss of the English was six hundred, or one in every eleven of the English settlers able to bear arms.

After the Mohawk and Hoosac scouts were sent eastward in January, 1676, to repulse King Philip's army advancing against Albany, Governor Andros, with six sloops carrying a detail of soldiers, ascended the Hudson in February to relieve the garrison of Fort Albany, and to assist in building Fort Frederick at the head of Yonkers Street, now State Street.

It was during Governor Andros's visit to Albany that eventful spring after King Philip had been routed from Schaghticoke village, that the Witenagemot (Assemblage of the Wise), consisting of the Board of Indian Commissioners headed by Governor Andros and his councillors, judges, and divines, accompanied by the militia of the King of England, assembled near the confluence of the Tomhannac with the

¹ Hon. John Fitch, "The Schaghticoke Tribe of Indians," *New York Hist. Mag.*, June, 1870.



The Witenagemot Oak. A Treaty Tree of Peace and Welfare.

Planted by the Christians for the Hoosac and Mohawk Scouts, near the junction of the Tomhannac Creek with the Hoosac River, in the Vale of Peace, Old Schaghticoke, New York. Here assembled the first Council of the Christians with Soquon and Maquon after the Hoosacs' final victory over Kryn's Mohawks in 1676.

*And then to mark the lord of all,
The forest hero, trained to wars,
Quivered and plumed, and lithe and tall,
And seamed with glorious scars,
Walk forth, amid his reign, to dare
The wolf, and grapple with the bear.*

BRYANT, An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers.

Hoosac and planted the Witenagemot Oak. The famous Council Tree of Peace was planted, not only with a view of confirming the link of friendship between Kryn's "Praying Mohawks" of the Caughnawaga village in Canada and Soquon's Hoosacs at Schaghticoke village, but to strengthen the alliance of Fort Albany militia with their River Indian scouts, whose fugitive kindred were scattered throughout New England, New York, and New France. It is the only "Vale of Peace" on the continent where the Witenagemot has ever assembled for the Indian's welfare.

Of the actual planting of the Witenagemot Oak there is no contemporaneous record, as Col. Peter Schuyler was not appointed recording secretary of the Indian Conference until about 1700. Soquon, in an oration addressed to Governor Cornbury at Albany on July 18, 1702, rehearsed the incident, however, saying that:

About twenty-six years ago (1676), Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of this Province, planted a Tree of Welfare at Schaghticoke, and invited us to come and live there, which we very luckily complied with; and we have increased that tree, and the very leaves thereof have grown hard and strong; the tree is grown so thick of leaves and boughs that the sun can scarce shine through it,—yea, the fire itself cannot consume it.

The fleet-footed *Un-nuh-kan-kun* (Runner) was sent forth by King Aepjen in March, 1676, to invite the remnant bands of the fugitive Mahicans of King Philip's War to meet the Christians and the last of the Mohawks, at Soquon's Old Schaghticoke lodge. About one thousand warriors of the Abenakis and Iroquois nations, including the Hoosacs, Mahicansacs, Pequots, Narragansetts, Wampanoags, Pennacooks, Abnaquis, Lenni-Lenapes or Delawares, Mohawks,

and Onondagas, assembled to hold the conference of peace with Governor Andros.

The purpose of the Witenagemot was ostensibly to celebrate the Indians' Festival of the new moon of February, which should be a harbinger of a spring of peace among the warring savages and the Christians. There should be made a compact of friendship, and the symbol should be the planting of a sapling oak. Whether Governor Andros poured only the customary deer-horn goblet of "pure river water" over the earth, as he blessed the "tree of welfare" and recognized the strict prohibition laws of 1664 and 1674, we shall never know. It is safe, however, to infer that there was plenty of *aqua-vitæ* there for the occasion and that the tree was blessed by having a bottle of grape wine broken over its roots.

The most dignified figures of the conclave included the kings, Uncus and Aepjen, the owl, Soquon, and hero, Maquon, and sachems, Wanalancet and Grey-Lock. King Aepjen held the *Mno-ti* (bag of peace) of the Abenakis Nation, containing belts of wampum and the *Calumet* of peace, lighted by his Runner. Aepjen and the Mohawk King were councillors *emeritus*, as it were; and Maquon of the Mahicansacs and Kryn of the Mohawks and Caughnawagas broke the string of their bows and buried the *Pubui* (hatchet) at the foot of the Tree of Peace. The eloquent Soquon of the Hoosacs pronounced the benediction and assured Governor Andros that the last of the Mahicans and Mohawks had wiped off the tears and blood on the *Pubui* and should dance beneath the branches of the Witenagemot Oak in peace. He called upon the Great Manitou to cleanse their beds and scatter all dark clouds, and offered *Hobbamocko* (the evil fiend of calamity) sacrifices, if he would guard against digging up the buried hatchet to cut down the Tree of Peace, planted by "Brother Corlear"

and "Yonnondio"—the Governors of New York and New France.

The Mahicans custom¹ at their national councils of peace or war was to seat the King, Runner, Owl, Hero, and other councillors in the innermost circle; the young warriors were in the second circle, and the squaws and children in the third or outermost circle. The business of the women was that of recording secretary, and to note the compact of treaties. They imprinted the transactions on their minds and communicated the traditions to their sons, destined to be chosen successors to the office of Great Sachem, Owl, Hero, and Runner of the Abenakis Democracy.

The Assemblage of the Wise was surrounded by the brilliant and uniformed militia of Governor Andros's staff, while the Jesuit Fathers, probably Bruyas and Boniface of the Mohawk missions, and the Dutch Dominies, Schaets and Van Rensselaer, of Albany, offered prayers and sang anthems during the closing ceremony of passing the *Calumet* (pipe of peace) around the circles. The Christians, including Governor Andros and his Council, were obliged to partake of a whiff of the incense of peace in order to seal the alliance of friendship. This ceremony was followed by an exchange of belts of wampum and skins from the Indians; and Governor Andros presented to the River Indian scouts pipes, tobacco, knives, axes, and a few uniforms.

The ceremonial calumet of the Mahican king was made of hard red stone and had a long stem. Those preserved in the Hudson-Champlain museums to-day, however, are of a platform or trumpet style, made from slate or gypsum, inlaid with nickel or lead symbols. The peace belts of wampum were embroidered with symbols of the *Swastika* (Cross of all Nations).

¹ Dr. Benjamin Franklin, *Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America*, 1834.

Governor Andros invited the Mahican warriors of the Maine Woods and White Mountains to settle in the Hoosac Valley and hold their civil councils with Soquon and Maquon beneath the Witenagemot Oak. He promised to build the "Praying Mohawks" a mission chapel near the junction of St. Anthony Kill with the Hudson at Skeetecook (Still-Water village) and Soquon's Hoosacs a chapel at Tioshoke, near the junction of the Owl Kill with the Hoosac. After the planting of the Tree of Peace, the Hoosacs, together with the last of the Mahicans of New England, took the new national name, Skatecooks or Schaghticokes—signifying warriors of the Mingling Waters, including the Pennacooks, Pequots, Narragansetts, Wampanoags, Abnauquis, Lenni-Lenapes, and Mohawk scouts.

The name Skatecook was first given to King Aepjen's council-hill, near the confluence of Green River with the Housatonac River, Mass., in 1664. The Pequot sachem, Mawwehu of Old Schaghticoke, founded New Skatecook near the confluence of St. Agnes Creek with Housatonac River at the base of Schaghticoke Mountain, Ct., in 1726. The name, Skatecook (mingling waters) and Skeetecook (still waters) have many origins and over a hundred spellings. The French and Algonquins of New France pronounced the name Skatecook—Kaskekouke¹; King Aepjen and Mawwehu of New England pronounced it Skatecook, Pahhakoke, and Pishgachticok; and Soquon and Maquon, under the Dutch of New York, called it Skatecook and Schaghticoke.

Soquon in an oration addressed to Governor Cornbury July 18, 1701, said that the warriors of Old Schaghticoke and Catskill villages consisted of two hundred fighting men. He added: "Our neighbors, the Mohawks, have not been so fortunate, for their tree was burnt. We have been so happy and fortunate that our number is increased to that degree

¹ Francis Parkman, "Fort Massachusetts," *Half a Century of Conflict*.

that we cannot all be shaded by one tree, and, therefore, desire that another tree besides that at Schaghticoke, may be planted for us."

The Mohawk scouts' Council Tree was evidently planted by Governor Andros in 1676, in the "Duck Pond Lot" on the bank of the Tomhannac, southwest of the Knickerbacker Mansion, and was subsequently struck by lightning and overthrown. It measured twenty feet in circumference, and during 1876 the late William P. Button heaved the oak into a grave and covered it with earth near where it fell. Joseph Foster Knickerbacker—the "Poet of the Vale"—in his "Musings beneath the Hoosacs' Witenagemot Oak," published in his volume, *The Arch of Truth and other Poems*, in 1876, records that: "The prostrate form of thy brother oak [referring to the Mohawks' tree] tells me it is even so! That there is naught however venerable, and naught however sublime, but in a moment may be blasted by Heaven's Will and by Heaven's power."

The Hoosacs' Witenagemot Oak still stands to-day, and beholds the "Vale of Peace" of another century than that of its sapling days of massacre and war. If its sturdy branches and rustling leaves could unfold the fitful shadows of the past, they might portray scenes of joy and sadness witnessed within the hill-encircled vale, and reveal vistas of the returning Hoosac braves headed by Queen Esther and her maidens of St. Regis in the grove-clad Tawasentha (burial-field of the Schaghticokes), embosomed by the western hill-side. "And thence, Willom,—an old man, was borne to a new-made grave. And in after time, his son, and his son's sons, even for many generations, each advanced to hoary eld—like shocks of corn fully ripe—had within that sacred garner-field been gathered to the harvest."

The sage Council Tree of the Hoosacs is twenty feet in circumference. It is now in its third, and probably last

century of existence. The heart of the venerable oak is dead at its base, and through the winter months many a squirrel takes shelter in its deep recesses. In another half century this monarch of the Hoosacs' hunting-grounds will have passed away. A sapling oak should replace its parent and mark for generations to come the site of the Assemblage of the Wise in the "Vale of Peace."

CHAPTER III

MAHICAN BOUNDARIES AND CHRISTIAN BORDER FORTS 1615-1815

*A noble race! but they are gone,
With their old forests wide and deep,
And we have built our homes upon
Fields where their generations sleep.*

BRYANT, *The Disinterred Warrior*.

Protestant Dutch Boers and French Walloons, 1615-1624—English Pilgrims, 1620-1628—British Charters—New Netherland—New England—New France—Map of American Colonies—Dutch and French Hoosac Manors, 1637-1688—English and Irish Hoosac Towns, 1739-1749—French and St. Francis Indian Incursions—King William's War, 1689—Onondaga War Council, April, 1690—English and Dutch Invasion of Canada, August, 1690—Queen Anne's War, 1703-1713—Râle's Jesuit War, 1689-1724—King George's War, 1744-1748—Marin's Massacre at Schuyler Mills, Old Saratoga, November, 1745.

THE furs that the Dutch Boers took back to Holland in 1609 led the Amsterdam merchants to prepare a map—*Carte Figurative*¹—in 1614, and invite colonization in the Mahican cantons. Capt. Hendrik Corstiaensen and Adriaen Block fitted up the ships, *Tiger* and *Fortune*, in 1615, and set sail with several soldiers, including Claessen, Eelkins, Lyberg, Orson, Schenck, and others. They founded Fort Nassoureen on Castle Island, opposite the present site of Albany.

The fort was surrounded by a palisade fifty feet square and protected by a moat eighteen feet wide. Two cannon and eleven small guns were mounted on swivels, and the

¹ Chapter I., p. 23.

cannon were adjusted to hurl small boulders when balls were scarce. The jealous Orson shot Captain Corstiaensen in 1616 and met death himself while in the act. Capt. Jacob Jacobs Eelkins succeeded to the command of the fort until it was swept away by high water in 1618.

Meanwhile in 1606, a band of Puritans known as Brownists or Separatists from the Church of England, met at Brewster's Manor-house—the "Post of Scrooby" of the Archbishop of York, on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, England.

The Rev. John Robinson, together with Clyfton, Morton, Bradford, Brewster, and other Separatists, migrated to Leyden, Holland, and founded the Pilgrims' Church in 1607. During 1622, several French Protestants, known as Walloons, from the Rhone Valley, also migrated to Amsterdam, to escape persecution. The Dutch never admired the English Pilgrims, although they welcomed the industrious French Walloons.

During February, 1620, the English Pilgrims desired to locate near Chescodonta on the Mahicansac River and found their Separate Church, but the Amsterdam merchants did not encourage them as colonists. Later over a hundred set sail on the ship *Mayflower*, and landed on the Wampanoags' shore of Cape Cod Bay. The French Walloons in 1622 desired to join the English Colony in Virginia and found their Separate Church, but the Amsterdam Gentlemen urged several families to locate with the Dutch Boers of Fort Nassoureen Colony.

In March, 1624, Capt. Cornelius Jacobsen Mey fitted up his ship, *Nieu Nederlandt*, and thirty Walloon families set sail for New Amsterdam Harbor. Two months later eighteen of those families settled below Cohoes Falls and in the pine groves of Greenbush, opposite Chescodonta. After making a treaty of peace with the Abenakis King and his

councillors, they built log dwellings and planted cornfields. In June, Capt. Adriaen Jorise and Daniel Van Krieckebeek built a fort on the site of Steamboat Square, in Albany. It was christened Aurania—the Latin for Orange,—in honor of Prince Maurice of Nassau-Orange, a small principality of the Rhone Valley in southern France, then in the possession of the House of Nassau. The Grande was christened Mauritius,¹ or Orange River.

The English Pilgrims, during March, 1621, also built Fort Plymouth and a forest chapel overlooking Cape Cod Bay, and Capt. John Smith christened their province New England. In 1628 the Pilgrims began to explore the length and breadth of their territory and discovered the Dutch Boers and French Walloons in New Netherland.

England claimed all rights of colonization and traffic in the American colonies through John Cabot's and his son, Sebastian Cabot's, discovery of America in 1497 and 1498. By the British Constitution the title of provincial land was vested in the King's power to grant at pleasure, either with or without power of government, to single individuals, corporations, or governors empowered with the government of certain described and bounded colonies, distinguished as proprietary, charter, and royal governments.

A national enmity existed, between the English Crown and the Holland and French officials, over Henry Hudson's and Samuel Champlain's rights of discovery and colonization of New Netherland and New France, between 1607 and 1664, and the English King failed to confirm the Hollanders' purchased rights of Hudson. The Dutch inaugurated the Patroon's System of colonization, however, regardless of rights. In 1631 Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a wealthy diamond merchant of Amsterdam, entered into partnership with Samuel Goodyn, Johannes De Laet, and Samuel Blommaert

¹ Map 1614, Chapter I., p. 23.

to found Rensselaerwyck. Gillis Hossett and Dominie Sebastian Krol were engaged to negotiate with the Mahican and Delaware sachems for twenty-four miles square on each bank of the Hudson, making Chescodonta the centre of the manor.

On April 8, 1631, Dominie Krol secured the Indian title of the land on the west bank of the Hudson extending from King Aepjen's Bear Island north to Smack's Island opposite Fort Aurania, from sachems Paep-Sikenekomtas, Mancontanshal, and Sickousson. On July 27th following, he secured the title of the Sannahagog Tract, extending from Smack's Island north to Cohoes Lane, or the Mahicansacs' war-trail passing through the centre of Maquon's Castle Moenemines on Haver (Oat) Island below Cohoes Falls from sachems Cattomack, Nawanemit, Abantzene, Sagisquwa, and Kanamoack. Sachem Nawanemit also owned the north end of the Sannahagog Tract on the east bank of the Hudson, and six years later, in 1637, Jacob Albertzen Plank, first Sheriff of Rensselaerwyck, and Arendt Van Curler or Corlear, a cousin of Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, purchased the Hoosacs' Lake District, extending from King Aepjen's Bear Island north to Soquon's Castle Unuwat. This included the "Stone Arabia," or Diamond Rock Tract, eastward twenty-four miles, reaching up the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs into Pownal, Vt. The sachems received for this vast forest region certain quantities of duffels, or coats, axes, knives, and wampum.

The New Amsterdam Dutch Boers and French Walloons kept a jealous eye upon the English Pilgrims migrating to the banks of the Varsch-Fresh River of Connecticut, in 1628. Capt. Jacobus Van Curler, an elder brother of Arendt Van Curler of Fort Orange, built Fort Good Hope near Hartford in 1633, and challenged the Yankee Pilgrims' occupancy of the New England territory east to Cape Cod Bay, by right of "club law."

The boundary quarrels of the Dutch, however, led to the English conquest of Dutch New Netherland in 1664. The New Englanders denied King Charles II.¹ the legal right to regrant New England, including New Netherland, to his brother James, the Duke of York and Albany, on March 12, 1664.

"The whiteman," says Thoreau, "came with a load of thought, with a slumbering intelligence, as a fire raked up, knowing well what he knew." The farmers of Rensselaerwyck raised apples and rye more for the brewing of mead and beer than for pie or bread-making. A dozen *boschloopers* (forest-runners) were engaged by the fur-traders to meet the Indians on their way to Beverswyck market, bribe them with brandy, rob them of their furs, and lodge them in jail for drunkenness. In this manner the Mahicans and Mohawks degenerated between the advent of the Dutch and English Pilgrims and the downfall of New Netherland.

After the English conquest of the Dutch in 1664, Capt. John Manning took command of Fort Albany, and the clerk, Dirck Van Schelluyne, began to enroll the patroons and their Dutch and French tenants as British subjects. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer of Rensselaerwyck in 1665 was the first to take the oath of allegiance to Charles II.

Later the Mutual Board of the King's Commissioners agreed upon the Twenty-Mile Line east of, and parallel with, the Hudson River as the boundary between New York and Connecticut. After the Duke of York ascended the throne as King James II., Col. Richard Nicolls, the first governor of New York Colony, wrote him that the adopted line was a favorable adjustment to be followed for the entire boundary between New York and Massachusetts Bay, which at the time was distinctly understood to extend north to Canada.

¹ King Charles II., *Charter of N. Y.*, 1664, cited in *London Documents*, xvi., p. 253. Illustration, Chapter I., p. 38.



*Mitchell's Map of the British and French Dominions in North America, 1755.
It Shows the Adopted Twenty-Mile Boundary between New York and
New England Colonies.*

The Twenty-Mile Line was subsequently described on Dr. Jno. Mitchell's *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, published in London during 1755. The following certificate is found inscribed on the back of the original map, which is six feet square:

This Map was undertaken with the approbation and request of the lords Commission for trade and plantations and is chiefly composed from draughts, charts, and actual surveys of different parts of his Majesty's Colonies and plantations in America; great part of which have been lately taken by their lordship's orders and transmitted to this office by the Governors of said Colonies and others.

JOHN POWNALL,
Secretary.

Plantation Office, February 13, 1755.

Among the first manors purchased of the Indians in Hoosac Valley was Rensselaerwyck, which reached east twenty-four miles from the Hudson in 1637. It was confirmed by the English in 1665, according to adopted boundary twenty miles east of the Hudson. The original Ochserantogue or Sarachtogie Tract of the Mahicansacs began north of Mathahennaheh or Manitou-asseniah (Spirit-rock) about Nack-te-Nack, the islands below Cohoes Falls; and extended north indefinitely on both sides of the Hudson. Portions of this vast tract were subsequently deeded by the Mahican sachems to several individuals. The "Halve-Maen" Tract north of Rensselaerwyck was deeded to the Albany brewer, Capt. Goosen Garretse Van Schaick, and Philipsen Pietersen Schuyler in 1662 in order to prevent "those of Connecticut" purchasing it, and this transfer was confirmed by the King in 1664. The south line ran east and west along the Boght (Manor) Avenue of Rensselaerwyck through the centre of Castle Moenemines on Haver Island; and the parallel north

line began at the junction of St. Anthony Kill with the Hudson and extended west to the Mohawk Flats. Hilete (Alice), the wife of Pieter Danielse Van Olinde, a daughter of a Mohawk squaw and Cornelius Antonissen Van Slyck, mentioned by the French Labadist missionaries, Jasper Dankers and Pieter Sluyter, as an intelligent Indian interpreter, owned the Mohawk Flats above Cohoes Falls.

The first settlers on Haver Island of the Half-Moon Patent included Oldert Onderkirk and Harmon Lievens. The island contains one hundred and twenty-five acres, and Fort Half-Moon was built about Lievens's house and commanded by his son-in-law, Captain Van Schaick, until his death in 1667. Captain Van Schaick also owned Cohoes Island, now Van Schaick Island, below the Third Sprout or fork of the Mohawk, which contains three hundred acres. The subsequent tenants of the region were Guert Hendrickse Van Schoonhoven, Roeloff Garretse Van Derwerken, Henry Lansing, Cornelius Onderkirk, Dirck Heamstreet, and Frederick Clute. The site of Moenemines Castle of Maquon's Mahicansacs on Haver Island, and a portion of the mainland on the site of Waterford was sold by Captain Van Schaick's widow, Annetie, to Jan Jacobse Van Noorstrand, June 26, 1677, for "sixty and six beavers" at the market price or in grain or labor. The quaint deed was recorded at the Albany County Clerk's Office by Robert Livingston, in the presence of Garret Banker and Harmon Rutkers. Fort Half-Moon was removed after King William's War, and in 1703 rebuilt, during Governor Cornbury's office, on Leland's and Taylor's farms near the junction of St. Anthony Kill, partly in Half-Moon and partly in Saratoga.

Gov. Francis Lovelace, as early as 1670, granted Robert Sanders a portion of the south end of "Stone Arabia," or Diamond Rock Patent, extending from Unuwat's Castle of Soquon's Hoosacs, south to Piscawen's Kill in Troy. Nine

years later Gov. Thomas Dongan granted Robert Sanders the Passquassic Patent, including the pine woods of Greenbosch and Whale Island, now submerged, for an annual quit-rent of three bushels of winter wheat. The north end of "Stone Arabia Patent," extending from Diamond Rock north to Paensick Kill, was granted to Johannes Wendel by Governor Dongan, July 22, 1686.

The Kayonderossera Tract, originally known as Ochserantogue and later as Schuylerville Patent, was purchased of the Mahicansac sachems. Governor Dongan, in 1682, confirmed the patent to Pieter Philipsen Schuyler, Cornelius Van Dyck, Jan Jansen Bleecker, Johannes Wendel, Dirck Wessels, David Schuyler, and Robert Livingston, for an annual quit-rent of twenty bushels of winter wheat. The Schuyler Patent covered 265 square miles, including six miles in width on each bank of the Hudson, from St. Anthony Kill and Hoosac River, north to the junction of the Batten Kill.

The first settler north of the junction of the Hoosac River was the fur-trader, Bartholomew Van Hogleboom. His Christian name "Bart" was given to the stream known once as Bart's Kill, now called the Batten Kill. The hamlet of Dovegat, now Coveville, north of Stillwater, was first settled by Protestant Frenchmen banished by the Jesuits from Canada. Among these were Antoine Lespinaud, John Van Loon, the Du Bisons, Lafleurs, and Villeroys. Lespinaud Street, New York City, was named in honor of Antoine Lespinaud.

The venerable King Aepjen and his councillors of the Abenakis Democracy, upon the approach of King William's War, between 1683 and 1685, deeded Bear Island and the Taconac Tract to Robert Livingston and other Albany gentlemen. Governor Dongan in 1686 also granted Col. Pieter Schuyler, first Mayor of Albany, charter privileges to negotiate with Soquon and Maquon for five hundred acres

of their Hoosac or "Schaahtecogue Tract," and a thousand acres of the Mahicansacs' "Tionnonderoga Tract."

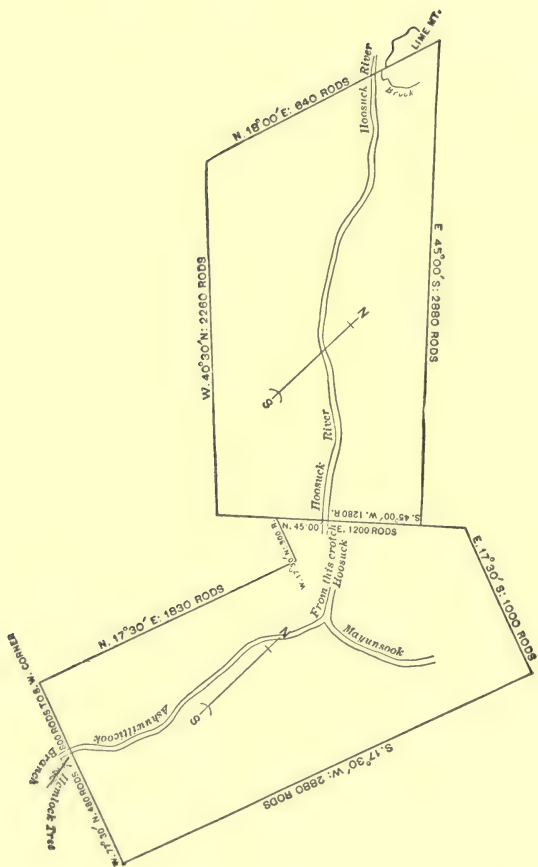
The most northern Dutch settlement of Albany County, N. Y., in 1689 proved to be that of the fur-trader, Bartel Vrooman, and six other families at Old Saratoga. A palisade was built about Vrooman's house, and Lieut. Jochem Staats, Robert Sanders, Egbert Teunise, and ten Hoosac and Mohawk scouts were sent to defend the hamlet, until it was burned in the winter of 1690.

The most northern English settlement of Old Berkshire, Mass., in 1733 was the mission founded among King Aepjen's Mahicansacs at Skatecook village on the site of Sheffield. Jonathan Sergeant, Samuel Hopkins,¹ Timothy Woodbridge, Ephraim Williams, Sr., and others chartered the town of Stockbridge during the summer of 1739, and Col. John Stoddard and his militia built a meeting-house and school-house and patrolled the frontier trails. The Scotch-Irish who arrived from Londonderry, Ireland, in 1718, located farther north in Pelham and Coleraine in 1735, and several English settlers pushed on to Charlemont and Pontoosac in 1736.

Thomas Wells of Saybrook, Conn., and Ephraim Williams, Sr., of Newton, Mass., in the spring of 1739, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to survey the towns of the upper Hoosac. The accompanying survey of "East and West Hoosuck," chartered later as Adams and Williamstown, was rendered by chairman Ephraim Williams, Sr., in his *Report* to the General Court as follows:

We the subscribers have carefully viewed the lands on and near Hoosuck River and finding the same very accommodable for settlement have by the assistance of Timothy Dwight, Esq., and Mr. Nath. Kellogg, surveys, laid out three

¹ Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Memoirs of the Housatunnuk Indians*, 1734.



"A Plan of 23,040 acres of Land lying on the East Side of Ashuwillitcook River and South Branch of Hoosuck River, beg'ing at a Hemlock Tree mark'd O+.

"Surveyed, May 1739, by the Needle of the surveying instrument,

By Mr. NATH. KELLOGG,

Surveyor

townships (Cheshire, Adams and Williamstown) each of the contents of six miles square. Two of which adjoyning and lye on Hoosuck River the other on the Mayoonsuck (Mayoonsac), being the northern branch thereof about three miles northward of the lowest of the two towns all which will fully appear by the plans herewith humbly presented. We have not perfected all the lines occasioned by the Great Opposition we met with from Sundry Gent'n from Albany a particular account of which we are ready to lay before y'r Excellency and Honours if thereto required, and are your Excellency's and Hon's most obedient and dutiful servants.

EPH'M WILLIAMS } Committee.
THOMAS WELLS }

BOSTON,
June 6, 1739.

Owing to the opposition of the Gentlemen of Albany, the Privy Council of England on March 10, 1741, advised Gov. Jonathan Belcher to establish the northern boundary of Massachusetts. Richard Hazen of Haverhill was engaged to make the survey and according to his *Journal*,¹ he stood on the highest peak in the northeastern corner of the present town of Williamstown, known as Mount Hazen, on Saturday morning, April 12, 1741. His piercing eye took in the windings of the intervals at his feet. Northwest through the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs gleamed the sunny fields of the "Patroon of Hoosac," lighted with fitful shadows and sunshine amid the April showers. Hazen doubted the rights of the hearth-logs of the Dutch burghers situated in the Kreigger Rock neighborhood and about "Weeping Rocks" in Pownal, Vt., near the Massachusetts borders.

Surveyor Hazen's party arrived at the Indian war-trail on the east bank of Hoosac River, near the junction of

¹ *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1754.

Rattlesnake Brook, during the afternoon and recorded that: "It was with difficulty that we waded the River and lodged on ye West side. . . . It Clouded over before Night and rained some time before day, which caused us to stretch Our blankets and lye under them on ye bare ground, which was the first bare ground we laid on after we left Northfield." The field where Hazen encamped is to-day known as Bascom's Meadow.

On Sunday, April 13th, the surveyors ascended Northwest Hill and continued west to the summit of the Taconacs. They christened the peak, Mount Belcher, in honor of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, that it might be a "Standing Boundary as Endicutt's Tree." The survey was continued to the Hudson, and it was reported to be twenty-one miles and sixty rods from the west bank of the Hoosac River to the east bank of the Hudson at a point eighty poles south of the First Sprout of the Mohawk below Cohoes Falls.

The western boundary of Massachusetts Bay was discussed at Hartford, Conn., in 1773. After the Revolution, on December 2, 1785, Congress appointed Thomas Hutchins, John Ewing, and David Rittenhouse to survey the line and it was established December 16, 1786. Controversies arose and many years later James Duane, Robert Livingston, Robert Yates, John Haring, Melancthon Smith, and Egbert Benson of New York; and John Lowell, James Sullivan, Theophilus Parsons, and Rufus King of Massachusetts surveyed the present line, confirmed by Congress, January 3, 1855. Russell Dorr of New York and John Z. Goodrich of Massachusetts set the present State Line markers.

A marble post now marks the northwest corner of Massachusetts, and near it stands another monument in Moon Hollow, a mile east of the summit of Mount Belcher,

denoting the southwest corner of Vermont. The present western boundary of Vermont, however, was not surveyed until June 8, 1812.

While the Dutch and English of New York and New England were contending over their boundaries, the French of New France were crowding down the Champlain and Connecticut valleys, more for religious supremacy than for territory to colonize. The Hoosac Valley was encompassed by three of the most powerful strongholds of New England, New York, and New France, including Fort Massachusetts on the upper Hoosac, Fort Albany on the Hudson, and Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. Indeed the borders of the Hoosacs' hunting-grounds were fortified by as many as forty stockade forts within seventy-five miles of the State Line markers of Vermont and Massachusetts. No less than ten different forts occupied the exposed portals along the war-trails of the interior valley between 1703 and 1777.

Some time after the English conquest, the Duke of York ascended the throne as King James II. In July, 1688, before the close of his reign, he confirmed the Hoosac Patent covering the meadow-land in central Hoosac. In December, following, he fled to King Louis XIV. of France and was succeeded by King William of Holland. During the English Revolution, the Roman Catholic adherents of King James II. in the colonies met the opposition of King William's Separatist Councils. Those religious and political bickerings among the Albany Gentlemen resulted in the Dutch village of Corlear, now Schenectady, being left without proper guards. On February 8, 1690, a party of one hundred and fourteen French soldiers, headed by the Mohawk sachem Kryn, with eight of his Caughnawagas and sixteen Algonquins entered Fort Schenectady and massacred sixty settlers and captured ninety prisoners. The aged and children were abandoned

Know all men that by virtue of the Commission
bearing unto me given by his most sacred Ma^{ty} the
& over in me being and residing in consideration
of the full Rent or Price was therein
Most Reverend & Diverse other good & Lawfull
considerations me therunto Especially monies
Phase Given Granted & confirmed & by these
Instruments D. Loddy Give Grant & confirm
the said Maria Van Ranslaer Hendrick Van Nessel
Geritt Junison & Jacobus Van Rensselaer their
heirs and Assigns for ever All that the before
written tract of Land & Commodities with all &
every its Appurtenances together wth all & singular
Lands Meadows Woods Groves Marshes Waters
Lakes Rivers Ruidotts hunting banking fishing
& Breeds & all Other Profits Advantages
hereditaries & Appurtenances to the said tract
of Land & Commodities belonging or in any
wise Appurtenancing. It shall & it shall
be said tract of Land & Commodities with all
& singular the hereditaments & Appurtenances
unto the said Maria Van Ranslaer
Hendrick Van Nessel Geritt Junison & Ja-
cobus Van Rensselaer their heirs and Assigns to
the only proper use and behoof of them
the said Maria Van Ranslaer Hendrick
Van Nessel Geritt Junison & Jacobus Van Rensselaer
their heirs and Assigns for ever, to be held

Original copy of Hoosac Patent, one of the first tracts purchased by the Christians of the Schaghticoke sachems in the interior Hoosac Valley. The Hoosac Patent was granted and confirmed by Gov. Thomas

345
 I have received from your Majesty his Honor & Councils
 of the said Province of New York a Certificate according to the course
 of the said Province in the County of West in his
 Majesty's Kingdom of England, Whereas your Majesty
 & Councils have granted unto his said Majesty's Honor
 & Councils Yearly & every Year the quantity
 of ten Tunnels of good Sweet Marchantable white
 Wheat to be Delivered at the City of Albany
 unto such Officer or Officers as shall
 from time to time be appointed to receive the
 same as it shall come in flow Place & Road of
 the said County of Albany & the said Province, My
 self Mr. M. B. Pittsford & I have signed these
 Letters with my hand & the said Province caused the same
 to be Recorded in the Secretary's Office & the
 date of this his Majesty's Certificate to be the same
 the Second Day of June in the fourth
 Year of his Majesty's said Majesty's said Majesty's
 our Lord 1688. Signed at Albany
 May 16 1688. Excellency
 The Governor Genl has caused this Grant &
 finds nothing therein prejudicial to his Majesty's
 Interest
 Done at Albany the 31st of May 1688.
 At a Council held at the said Albany the
 28th 1688. Present his Excellency Major John
 Brodhead Major James Gordon Major Philip
 Major Deane Mr. Mayor & the
 Council was approved of.

Dongan during reign of King James II., July 28, 1688. It is recorded in
 Vol. VI. of Patents (pp. 344-345), at Office of Secretary of State, Albany
 Capitol.

and twenty-five lost their limbs on the frigid flight through the snow to Albany.

At that time the Iroquois were contemplating an alliance with either the English or French before King William's War. The Onondaga Council met in April following the Massacre of Schenectady, and Governor Bellamont sent Arnout Cornelisen Viele, sire of Louis Viele of Fort Schaghticoke village, as the sole representative of the English. He was joined at Albany, however, April 14th, by Johannes Schuyler, John Bleecker, and John Baptist Van Eps. The party arrived at Onondaga Castle four days later and found the Council in full session. The Jesuit Fathers from Canada, clad in flowing black gowns or cassocks, together with the gaily uniformed French officers, were lavishing presents among the councillors. La Grande Gueule (the eloquent orator) had nearly been won by the French, and a careless word of Viele's might have enraged the menacing assemblage about the blazing council-fire.

Viele, equal to his charge as the English diplomatist, first hung the Protestant belt of wampum of "Brother Corlear" beside "Yonnondio's" Roman Catholic belt so that the councillors need not call his message "an empty word." He then referred to the Mohawk and Hoosac scouts situated at Skeetcook and Skatecook on the Hoosac, and said: "They are well placed and a good guard; they are *our children*, and we shall take care that they do their duty." He knew that it would please the Mohawk sachem Kryn and the Onondaga sachem Geronkonte to refer patronizingly to their Hoosac conquerors, under Soquon and Maquon of the Mahicans, as "their children!" He added that "'Brother Corlear' would build forts, chapels, and plough their corn-field and protect their children." The Council closed April 28th, although neither the English nor French had, as yet, won a firm alliance with the Iroquois.

During August, 1690, Gen. Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut rallied several hundred colonists and set out to punish the Canadas for the massacres at Schenectady. He marched his troopers as far as the drowned lands about Whitehall where many fell ill, and he was forced to return to Fort Albany. Young Johannes Schuyler, knowing the doubtful attitude of the Mohawk and Hoosac scouts, rallied one hundred warriors and forty Dutch and English volunteers. He marched to Canada and devastated the country about St. François La Prairie village of Kryn's "Praying Warriors," south of Montreal, and returned to Albany, August 31st, only a few days after General Winthrop.

The next season, Mayor Pieter Schuyler, an elder brother of Capt. Johannes Schuyler, burned La Prairie village, and had his party been a trifle larger, he would have become master of Montreal. Bancroft considered Col. Pieter Schuyler, the "Washington of his time." The Mohawk and Hoosac scouts called him Quider (the Indian's Friend) and he was appointed Recording Secretary at the Indian Conferences and aided in winning the Iroquois alliance for the English.

One of the largest conferences held at the Albany Court House took place in October, 1700. The session lasted a week and Governor Bellamont met fifty sachems from both the Abenakis and Iroquois nations. The "City of Cannon" was known thereafter as the "House of Peace." However, the Onondaga orator complained that "The Albany forts were unworthy the King of England!" After Major-General Ingoldsby and Captain Weeme mustered the Fort Albany militia, the wise sachem discovered many of the British soldiers to be destitute of breeches, shoes, and stockings. He exclaimed sneeringly to Governor Bellamont: "Do you think us such fools as to believe a king who cannot clothe

his soldiers can protect *us* from the French with their 1400 men all in good condition!"

Governor Bellamont died in March, 1701, and Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan met the sachems again during the summer. In spite of the fact that "Yonnondio," Governor Calliers of New France, had quite outdone the English during June in caressing the "Mourning Sachem," Geronkonte of the Onondagas, on both cheeks, he deeded King William III. the Iroquois hunting-grounds between Lake Erie, Ontario, and Huron in July, 1701, and made a firm alliance with the English.

However, during Queen Anne's War in 1704, unknown to "Brother Corlear," the Mohawk and Hoosac scouts made a treaty of peace with their Caughnawagas and St. Francis kindred under the Jesuits of Canada, not to molest each other's domains. The Hoosac-Housatonic rivers were agreed upon as a line of neutrality, and all of Father Rôle's scalping forays were sent against the English Pilgrims of New England east of that line. The Dutch settlers west of that line were not molested until about the opening of King George's War. As a result of the treaty, the Canadas accompanying Hertel de Rouville burned Deerfield in March, 1704, and four years later Haverhill on the Merrimac was destroyed by flames. The English captives in each instance were led to Montreal and thence to Quebec's prison-pens—the headquarters of the Governor-General and his Jesuit chaplains.

Father Sebastian Rôle was commander-in-chief of the Jesuit palisaded mission towns for forty years and resided at Norridgewock on the upper Kennebec in the King's Woods of Maine, between 1695 and 1724. He was a Latin scholar and compiled an Abenakis Dictionary, founded on Latin derivations, which is now deposited in Harvard University Library. Not only did he teach his warriors to read,

write, pray, and fight, but he replaced their *Kinte-kaye* (Devil-dance) with a mock ceremony of absolution, during which he hoisted the banner of the Church of Rome before the door of his forest chapel, "on which was depicted a cross surrounded by bows and arrows!"

The governors of New York and New England often urged the kindred of the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts situated at St. Francis and St. Regis Jesuit missions, to return to Schaghticoke villages on the Housatonac and Hoosac under King Aepjen and Soquon. The Albany and Boston traders, however, charged double the London and Montreal prices for food, clothing, and firearms. The sachems replied that: "As soon as Ye goods are cheaper then we will return and consult about having Ministers in our Castles, to instruct us in Ye Christian faith, for then we can afford to buy a good honest Coat to go to Church with all, which we cannot now, but it would be scandalous to come to Church with a Bear Skin on our Backs!"

A price was finally set upon Father Rôle's head by the New England governors. His mission village was burned three times: first in 1704, again in 1722, and on August 12, 1724, Captains Moulton and Harmon surprised the town. Lieutenant Jaques broke down Father Rôle's mission-house door, and he was slain at the foot of his mission cross in company with twenty-six veteran warriors. The venerable sachem, Mogg Megone, described by Whittier, was among the captives taken to Boston and Rôles village was left in ashes for the third and last time.

On June 30, 1703, at the opening of Queen Anne's War, Governor Cornbury reported to the Lords of Trade that he had repaired the stone Fort Schenectady and built the stockade Fort Nastagione (St. Ange) on Green Island, Fort Half-Moon at the junction of St. Anthony Kill at Stillwater, and Fort Schaghticoke near the junction of the Tomhannac

with the Hoosac. Those forts cost nearly £80 each, and he proposed building another stockade at Saratoga in order to give satisfaction to the Mohawk and Hoosac scouts patrolling the war-trails.

Fort Saratoga was built six years later, during Francis Nicholson's siege against the Canadas in 1709. Col. Pieter Schuyler and three hundred soldiers of Nicholson's army, composed of fifteen thousand men, were sent ahead to build forts and military roads. Fort Ingoldsby was erected on the site of Fort Half-Moon in Stillwater, Fort Saratoga near the ford over the Hudson north of Greenwich highway bridge, Fort Nicholson at the Carrying Place on the site of Fort Edward, and Fort Anne at Wood Creek Forks on the site of Whitehall. Nicholson's first expedition, like his second in 1711, met defeat before he reached Canada. He burned Forts Anne and Nicholson and marched his troopers back to Fort Albany. At the close of Queen Anne's War in 1713 Forts Saratoga, Ingoldsby, and Schaghticoke were the only frontier ramparts of Albany. At least six different stockade forts were built at Old Saratoga between the founding of Fort Vrooman in 1690 and Fort Clinton in 1746.

The log stockade forts of New York and Massachusetts had to be repaired or rebuilt about every five years. Philip Livingston rebuilt Fort Saratoga during October 1721 under the command of Capt. William Helling. But during the interval between 1713 and the opening of King George's War in 1744, there were thirty-one years of peace along the New York frontier, but frequent savage forays took place on the New England border east of the Hoosac-Housatonac rivers. The Albany and Boston officials did not build any formidable defences flanking New France, although the French during peace prepared for conquest. The Governor-General spent \$5,000,000 building the "Gibraltar Fortress" on Cape Breton Island, at Louisburgh, Nova Scotia; and on May 18,

1731, a log stockade was completed at Chimney Point on Lake Champlain and christened Fort St. Frederic. The latter fort, a menacing one, was only forty miles north of Fort Saratoga, and about seventy-five from Fort Albany and the site of Fort Massachusetts of the Dutch and English.

Three years later, in 1734, the log stockade, Fort St. Frederic, was replaced by a limestone, bomb-proof fortress, second in strength only to the stronghold at Quebec. The garrison in 1746 consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers, and the ramparts, which were twenty-five feet thick, were mounted with twenty-two guns. The citadel was an octagon tower fifty feet in diameter and three stories high. The third story, a bomb-proof chamber, had walls seven feet thick and contained ten 9-pounder guns, twenty patararoes, several blunderbusses, muskets, and pistols all ready for action.

The same spring (1739) that Gov. Jonathan Belcher ordered the survey of the upper Hoosac towns, Lieut.-Gov. George Clark of New York "directed that a line of forts be erected between Albany and Saratoga." During June, 1744, King George's War, known in New England as Shirley's War, was declared. Gov. William Shirley that season ordered a cordon of three or four forts built four or five miles south of Hazen's Line of Massachusetts, at intervals of six or eight miles between Fort Dummer on the Connecticut and the upper Hoosac.

Fort Shirley was completed in the town of Heath on the upper Deerfield, October 30, 1744; Fort Pelham in the town of Rowe, five miles west of Fort Shirley, in the spring of 1745; and Fort Massachusetts in Adams on the upper Hoosac, fourteen miles west of Capt. Moses Rice's Charlemont Tavern, during the summer of 1745. Governor Clinton on June 5, 1744, also garrisoned Fort Saratoga, built in 1739, and in 1745 rebuilt the fort from its foundation. He was

not able to obtain volunteer soldiers willing to garrison the fort, and it was unoccupied at the time Marin's massacre of Schuyler's Mills took place in November of that season.

The cordon of Massachusetts border forts was placed under the command of Capt. William Williams, a nephew of Col. John Stoddard, commander of Old Berkshire militia during the spring of 1745. In June, Governor Shirley commissioned William Williams colonel of a regiment in Gen. William Pepperell's army of New England Rangers which was sent to capture the "Gibraltar Fortress" of the French at Louisburgh. The command of the border forts of Massachusetts fell to Ephraim Williams, Jr., a half cousin of Col. William Williams. He made his headquarters at Fort Shirley, and commanded three hundred and fifty garrison soldiers posted at the several forts: Northfield, Falltown, Coleraine, Shirley, Pelham, Massachusetts, Collars, Shattucks, Bridgemans, Deerfield, Rhodetown, and New Hampton. He also controlled the scouts patrolling the trails between Forts Number Four and Dummer on the Connecticut, Forts Half-Moon, Saratoga, Schaghticoke, St. Croix, Massachusetts, Pontoosac, and Deerfield.

The capture of the "Gibraltar" of the French on June 8, 1745, caused the jubilant colonists to ring the Boston and Albany church bells. The Pilgrim Fathers exclaimed that "God had gone out of the way of His common providence in a remarkable and miraculous manner!" The New England victory over the French was followed later by revengeful forays of the Canadas. Colonel Marin and Lieutenant Beauvais headed five hundred French and St. Francis warriors down the Hudson during the autumn. The chaplain, Abbé François Picquet, pointed out Schuyler's Mills on the map as a prize to capture. The settlement then contained thirty-one dwellings, four large mills, many barns and barracks for slaves. Schuyler's brick mansion

contained loopholes for the discharge of small guns; but, like Fort Saratoga, half a mile south, it was without a garrison when Marin's half frozen warriors entered the sleeping hamlet on November 8, 1745.

Lieutenant Beauvais, personally acquainted with Philip Pieterse Schuyler, entered his mansion and demanded his surrender, promising him personal protection. The patrol, however, refused to ask for quarter and was slain with thirty other settlers. One hundred and one captives were taken, half of whom were Negro slaves. The patrolling scout, Robert Sanders, and his family were the only settlers to make their escape to Albany. The massacre was closed before sunrise and the captives, half clad, and many of them barefooted, were forced to march over the frozen trail to the Lydius Mansion, which was the most northern English settlement of the New York frontier on the site of Fort Edward. The party was joined there by eleven other captives and arrived at Fort St. Frederic December 3d; and five days later the captives were placed in Montreal prison-pens.

During March, 1746, Gov. George Clinton completed a fort at Schuyler's Mills which was christened Fort Clinton, but it was impossible to find volunteer soldiers brave enough to garrison the fort. At last Capt. Henry Livingston, in November, headed four companies of regulars from Fort Albany and mounted twelve large cannon on the ramparts. In March, 1747, Lieutenant Herbin headed a party of French and St. Francis warriors down the Hudson and attempted to burn Fort Clinton.

Captain Livingston was succeeded in June, 1747, by Captain Jordan, and Gen. Rigaud de Vaudreuil (known as General Rigaud by historians, in order to distinguish him from his brother, Gov. Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, commonly spoken of as de Vaudreuil) sent Lieut. Le Corne St. Luc with two hundred Indians and twenty Frenchmen to

attempt again to burn Fort Clinton. They failed to accomplish the work, after which General Rigaud and his war-party arrived. They, too, were forced to return to Fort St. Frederic without setting a torch to the stockade.

The last garrison of Fort Clinton consisted of New Jersey troops under the command of Col. Pieter Schuyler. Owing to colonial bickerings, the food supply ran short, and two hundred and twenty hungry soldiers shouldered their guns and deserted their post. Only forty men remained to defend the guns, under Colonel Schuyler. After this news reached Governor Clinton in New York City, he ordered the ill-placed fort burned. A torch was set to the ruins October 5, 1747, after Colonel Schuyler had removed the cannon to Stillwater. A few years ago a pile of British cannon was unearthed on Quock Island, in the Hudson opposite Mechanicsville. They are believed to have been the remnants of Fort Clinton's artillery, buried there by Colonel Schuyler in 1747.

The forests stretching between Stillwater and Fort St. Frederic until the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 were left to wandering war-parties of French and Indians. After the Fall of Quebec in the autumn of 1759, General Wolfe found in the Archives of the fortress Colonel Marin's *Journal*, relating to the massacre of Schuyler's Mills in Old Saratoga during 1745. It was later presented to Gen. Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary fame, and is now among the valuable relics in his Old Mansion at Schuylerville.

CHAPTER IV

FORT SCHAGHTICOKE AND KNICKERBACKER'S COLONY 1676-1759

*Here clad in ancient honor, dwell
The Knickerbacker race,
And wisely ruled in hall and bower,
And held their old manorial power
With firm and honest grace.*

MRS. SIGOURNEY, *Schaghticoke and the Knickerbackers.*

Hoosac Patent, 1688—King William's War, 1689—Queen Anne's War, 1703—Fort Schaghticoke, 1703—Knickerbacker Colony, 1709—First Dutch Church, 1714—Mahican and Mohawk Sachem's Visit to London, 1710—Death of Soquon, 1710—King George's War, 1744—Kittlehuyne Massacre, 1746—French and Indian War and Last of the Schaghticokes, 1754—Queen Esther's Pilgrimages to Witenagemot Vale of Peace—Soquon's Old Schaghticoke Burial-Field—Mawwehu's New Schaghticoke Burial-Field.

THE "Gentlemen of Albany" kept a covetous eye upon the Schaghticokes' fertile cornfields twenty-seven years after the planting of the Witenagemot Oak in 1676, before Fort Schaghticoke was built in 1703. Pieter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany, was granted charter privilege to negotiate for five hundred acres of meadow-land of the "Schahtecogue Tract" on July 22, 1686, although he failed to do so, owing to a general Indian uprising before King William's War.

The first land deeded by the Schaghticokes to the Christians within the environs of the Hoosac Valley proper was the Hoosac Patent.¹ The patent was granted by Gov. Thomas

¹ See Chapter III, pp. 72-73.

Dongan on June 2, 1688, to Maria Van Resnselaer and Hendrick Van Ness of Albany, Garret Tunisson (Van Vechten) of Catskill, and Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York City, and confirmed by the Duke of York, as King James II., in July.

The Hoosac Patent covered seventy thousand acres, including two miles in width on each bank of Skatecook Creek (Hoosac River of blended waters); and extended up the river from the Devil's Chimney opposite the Fallen-hill in Old Schaghticoke to Falls Quequick; thence up the valley to the sandy island known as Nach-a-quick-quack, the Ashawagh, or land between the junction of the Little Hoosac with the Big Hoosac. The annual quit-rent exacted for this vast manor-land was "ten Bushells of good Sweet Marchantable winter Wheat, delivered Att the City of Albany."

During the opening raids of King William's War, in 1689, Hendrick Van Rensselaer of Fort Crailo partly negotiated with Captain Soquon for a tract six miles square in Old Schaghticoke, although the deed was not confirmed until 1707 during Queen Anne's War. Meanwhile, Hendrick Van Ness transferred half of his right in Hoosac Patent to his brother Jan Van Ness on February 17, 1699, and on October 18, 1706, Hendrick Van Ness and Jacobus Van Cortlandt deeded Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and Johannes Van Vechten the shares of their parents, Maria Van Rensselaer and Garret Tunisson-Van Vechten. Later on, November 16th, Hendrick Van Ness and Jacobus Van Cortlandt gave each other mutual release of joint tenancy of their Hoosac Patent manor-lands.

The Moravian missionaries of Count Zinzendorf's staff, laboring among the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts in 1742, preserved the tradition that Soquon and Maquon were held "chiefest in dignity" among the Indian councillors who met the royal Governors at the Albany Conferences held in the



Fort Schaghticoke Meadow, from the Col. Johannes Groesbeck orchard below the new junction of the Tomhannac Creek with the Hoosac River. The Stockade Fort occupied a portion of the meadow north of the Red Schoolhouse near the cornfield.

Old Court House. Maquon, known as Minichqua, received a mortal wound from a party of four Negro slaves while visiting Albany during the summer of 1702. He lamented that his death should be caused by those who had "no courage of heart," but Soquon in his speech to Governor Cornbury said: "Upon his death bed, our Great Sachem desired that no revenge should be taken, saying that he forgave his offenders and prayed that they might be reprieved." Maquon was beloved and honored as the Mahican Hero and war-captain during the Mohawk and Hoosac War, "and his last wish associates with his memory," says Ruttenber, "the noble attributes of the Gods." He was buried in the Schaghticoke's burial-field west of the Council Tree; and the principal Negro offender causing his death was executed by order of Governor Cornbury on August 19, 1702.

Upon the approach of Queen Anne's War, Governor Cornbury directed Secretary Robert Livingston, to build Fort Schaghticoke during the early spring of 1703 on the "Great Meadow," a mile east of the Council Tree, near the Old Schaghticoke highway. The watch-towers occupied the exposed angles of the stockade. The cellars of the barracks within the stockade were ploughed down a century ago, but are still indicated by grass-grown hollows near the ancient apple-trees in the meadow north of the red schoolhouse. The Louis Viele well, known as the Nancy and Rebecca Groesbeck well to-day, with its ancient sweep, near the corner of Old Schaghticoke and Reynolds roads, was undoubtedly used as the fort well. The "God's Acre" is believed to have been located southwest of the stockade, near the border of the Groesbeck orchard, south of Col. William Knickerbacker's mansion, known to-day as the Barnett Place.

Governor Cornbury reported to the Lords of Trade, June 30, 1703, that Fort Schaghticoke cost about £80 and that



Capt. Johannes Knickerbacker Manor, site of the original log dwelling near the old junction of the Tomhannac Creek with the Hoosac River. The present brick mansion was built in 1770 before the Revolution.

he considered it one of the most important out-posts of Albany. It proved the headquarters of the River Indian scouts, composed of Hoosacs and Mohawks, engaged to patrol the Ticonderoga war-paths of the French and St. Francis warriors. There were nearly one thousand warriors located in the Hoosac Valley of Mingling Waters under the command of Soquon in 1703, including his old Hoosacs or Soquonsacs, known as Schaghticokes, Pennacocks, Abnaquis, Pequots, Narragansetts, and Wampanoags of New England forests, and their kindred Mahicansacs of the Catskill and Helderberg and the Mohawk hunting-grounds.

The Hoosac and Mohawk warriors between 1676 and 1703 had degenerated because of the use of the fur-traders' rum to such an extent that Soquon could not be relied upon to command Fort Schaghticoke's scouts. Governor Cornbury and his Council urged a stalwart leader to head a colony of Dutch tenantry from Albany and locate in Old Schaghticoke, not only to command, but to Christianize the Hoosacs and Mohawks. On February 28, 1707, Mayor David Davidse Schuyler of Albany secured Soquon's deed to the "Schaah-tecogue Tract 2 by 2 by 12 by 14 miles in extent." The north line began at a point in centre of Hudson River two miles south of the junction of the Skatecook Creek-Hoosac River—and extended east twelve miles. The south line two miles below the north line extended from the centre of Hudson River east fourteen miles, parallel with the north line. The tract was bounded on the south by lands owned by Barent Albertse Bratt and Egbert Teunis.

At the same time, Herman Jansen Knickerbacker of Albany negotiated with the venerable seer Soquon for the deed to his Witenagemot Manor west of the ancient channel of Tomhannac Creek and south of the Hoosac River. Both the Knickerbacker and Schuyler tracts were confirmed by Queen Anne during December, 1707. It is recorded that



Capt. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, of Fort Schaghticoke, and his "Goed Vrouw," the hostess of Knickerbacker "Hostead," Old Schaghticoke, New York. Captain Knickerbacker, known as "Grandfather Knickerbacker," was one of the pioneer founders of Dutch Hoosac Valley.

Mayor David Davidse Schuyler and the Albany Council rendered Soquon and his councillors as payment for their tracts, granted February 28, 1707: "2 blankets, 12 duffel-cloth coats, 20 shirts, 2 gunns, 12 pounds of powder, 36 pounds of lead, 8 gallons of rum, 2 casks of beer, 2 rolls of tobacco, 10 gallons of Madeira wine and a number of pipes." Soquon was to continue to receive annually in the month of October for ten years: "1 blanket, 1 shirt, 1 pair of stockings, 1 lap or apron, 1 keg of rum, 3 pounds of powder, 6 pounds of lead, and 12 pounds of tobacco." Besides, twelve acres of the tract granted was fenced at the city's expense and set apart as a planting-ground for Soquon and his chieftains, who deeded the Schaghticoke Tract to the Christians, in order to protect the Indian cornfields from the Dutch burghers' pigs and cows. This twelve-acre cornfield, known as Tioshoke, was located on the north bank of the Hoosac, near the junction of the Ticonderoga trail of the Owl Kill with the Hoosac Road.

The western line of Hoosac Patent remained indefinitely bounded upon the eastern border of the "Schaagtehogue Tract" until the Albany Mayor, Robert Sanders, or his successor, Johannes Hansen, in 1754, commissioned John J. Bleecker of Old Schaghticoke to survey both tracts and establish the present known bounds. The western line of the Hoosac Patent abuts on the Schaghticoke Tract, bearing north 20° through a marked pine tree on the "Fallen-hill," opposite the Devil's Chimney.

Gov. John Lovelace, who succeeded Governor Cornbury in December, 1708, directed the Schaghticoke Tract to be surveyed and divided into farms, and leased to Dutch tenantry. Queen Anne of England, during the spring of 1709, appointed Col. Pieter Schuyler councillor and Richard Ingoldsby governor of New York, and despatched an army of British regulars to Albany to defend the New York frontier against the French and St. Francis warriors from Canada.

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Johannes Knickerbacker, eldest son of Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, on October, 13, 1709, leased the first farm on the Schaghticoke Tract. It contained "30 morgens"—about sixty acres and he contracted to pay an annual quit-rent of "16 pounds and 10 shillings" to be rendered in "37½ bushels of good merchantable winter wheat." At that time Captain Knickerbacker was about thirty years of age and a miller and master brick-maker by trade. He was placed in command of Fort Schaghticoke and founded the Knickerbacker Colony. He was joined by his father, then sixty-one years old, and several of their trusted neighbors from Albany: Johannes De Wanderlaer, Johannes Heermans Vischer, Curset Voeder, Louis Viele, Derrick Van Vechten, Martin De Lamotte, Wouter and Adriance Quackenbosch, Pieter Yates, David Schuyler, Wouter Groesbeck, Philip Livingston, Ignace Kipp, and Cornelius Van Denburgh.

The Knickerbackers' log dwelling was built on the site of the present brick colonial mansion, a mile west of Fort Schaghticoke, near the Schaghticoke's Witenagemot Tree. The first saw-mill and grist-mill of the settlement were built about the same time as the stockade fort in 1703, on the Abraham Viele brook—a branch of the Tomhannac Creek below Buttermilk Falls, a mile east of the fort. Those mills proved to be the *first* mills on the east bank of the Hudson north of Greenbush. The mill-stone is still doing duty as door-stone to William P. Button's house, standing on the site of the Abraham Viele homestead. The mill-dam was located ten rods north of the Viele house, in the dark ravine leading to Spook Hollow, where, during 1878, one of the timbers two feet in diameter was unearthed.

Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, sire of Capt. Johannes Knickerbacker 1st, was a son of Johannes Van Bergen Knickerbacker, born in Friesland, Holland, in 1648. He entered the Dutch Navy and served under General Van

Tromp and General De Ruyter during the Netherlands' period of naval victories, and was wounded in the Battle of Solebay off the English coast, where the Dutch war-ships were attacked by the combined force of the English and French war-fleets. Later young Knickerbacker and Johannes De Ruyter, Jr., were commissioned to sail for Fort Orange in New Netherland. Both settled in Hoosac Valley, Knickerbacker on the lower Hoosac and De Ruyter in central Hoosac.

Herman Jansen Knickerbacker married the daughter of Dr. Myndert Hermance Van De Bogert of Dutchess County, N. Y., the famous surgeon of the Dutch war-ship, *Endraaght*, whom Gov. Peter Stuyvesant appointed commissary-general of Fort Orange for a time. He often held political controversies with testy Peter and once attempted to throw the lordly ruler overboard while crossing over Hudson ferry. Dr. Van De Bogert's ungovernable temper is said to have caused his own violent death.

On his maternal side, Herman Jansen Knickerbacker hailed from the Jansen family of Masterlandt, and was a kinsman of Roelof Jansen, the *opper-bouwmeester* (chief farm-master), of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's manor of Rensselaerwyck, on the west bank of the Hudson, in 1631. Young Knickerbacker was said to be a master *Knickerbocker*—(brick-maker). Washington Irving as "*Diedrich Knickerbocker*," author of *Knickerbocker's History of New York* in 1809, records that: "The Knickerbockers were the folk who lay stones upon their houses in windy weather lest they should be blown away." Others say that the name arose from "*Knicker*—to shake, and *Beker*—a goblet," which distinguished the race as being "sturdy toss-pots of yore." Old "*Diedrich Knickerbocker*" believed that the true origins of the name arose from "*Knicker*—to nod, and *Boken*—books," signifying that his Friesland ancestors were "great

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noddors or dozers over books." True to their Holland origins, they produced brick-makers, book-makers, and innumerable "toss-pots!"

Capt. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, of Fort Schaghticoke was the eldest son among Herman Jansen Knickerbacker's seven children, and inherited the Knickerbacker homestead at Old Schaghticoke on the Hoosac; and to Lawrence, his younger brother, was left the Van De Bogert homestead in Housatonac Valley. The oldest frame house in the Fort Schaghticoke colony was the homestead of Cornelius Van Denburgh. It was built in 1732, opposite Van Denburgh's ferry, between Old Schaghticoke and Stillwater, and the date in iron figures, still found on the huge chimney, undoubtedly marks the oldest house of the Hoosac Valley founders. It is now owned by Frank Pruyn.

In 1704, the Church of England sent Thoroughgood Moor as chaplain to labor among the Hoosac and Mohawk scouts at Fort Schaghticoke and other outposts of Fort Albany. He won the enmity of the Dutch and English fur-traders by preaching against the sale of beer and rum to the River Indians, and was forced to retire to New York City in August, 1705. Thomas Barclay was appointed chaplain of the Albany border forts three years later, and while at Fort Anne in September, 1710, he, too, complained that the degenerated warriors were lost to all that was noble or good, through use of the Christians' rum.

The Council of Albany during the autumn of 1709 conceived of a scheme to impress the last of the Mahican and Mohawk sachems of the military power of England. To figure in this they chose the venerable Soquon of Great Soqui, King Etow Oh Koam of Great Unami, and Emperor Johannes of Great Minsi of the Abenakis Democracy; King Brandt of Great Maquaas, and Emperor Hendrick of Great Enanthayonni of the Iroquois Confederacy, and set sail for

London. The party, accompanied by Gen. Francis Nicholson, Col. Pieter Schuyler, and the Indian interpreter, Capt. Abraham Schuyler, arrived in England during January, 1710. One of the sachems died, evidently the aged Soquon of the Hoosac Valley, then about



*The Squaw King, Etawa Caume
(Etow Oh Koam).*

*Race of Great Unami (Turtle Nation).
Peace Maker of the River Indians, including the Delawares and Mahicans of the Abenakis Democracy.*

110 years old, and was buried at sea. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted the four other sachems to Mr. Arne's furnished apartment in King Street, Covent Garden. They were royally entertained on April 19th by "Mother Anne," as they called the Queen. The sachems' portraits were painted by the artist, I. Verelst, with the totemic crests of the Turtle, Bear, and Wolf, together with the hominy-pestle of the Delaware "squaw sachem," bow and arrow of the Mahican Wolves, and the flint-lock and belts of wampum of Mohawk

King Brandt and Emperor Hendrick, embroidered with the *Swastika*, denoting the peacemaker of the Iroquois.

The royal Indians caused much interest in London. They sailed in the Queen's barge, visited Greenwich Hospital, Chapel of Whitehall, the Ships of War; and the Duke of Ormond commanded his Grenadier Guards for a review in Hyde Park. Later the sachems visited the Archbishop of Canterbury and each was presented with an English Bible.

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The party set sail on the ship *Dragon*, May 8th, and reached Boston on July 15, 1710.

Emperor Hendrick, then a gallant of thirty-five years, was impressed with the poverty of thousands of the Palatines, then in a transitory state, huddled along the Surrey side of the river Thames. As a result he presented "Mother Anne" with his valuable Schoharie or Bear Tract for the flaxen-haired people to settle upon; and three thousand Palatines later set sail, accompanied by Governor Hunter for their "Promised Land of Schoharie." The "Gentlemen of Albany," however, drove most of them down the Hudson to William Penn's Pennsylvania Colony. A few remained on German Flats about Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton, and near the junctions of East and West Canada Creek with the Mohawk. Those streams encircle the hills of the Royal Grant presented by Emperor Hendrick later to young William Johnson.

The first Dutch Church of Old Schaghticoke was organized in 1714 under the auspices of the Classis of Amsterdam. The log meeting-house was built on the southwest corner of Reynolds Road outside Fort Schaghticoke, near the Louis Viele homestead. Service was held by the Fort Albany



The Hero, Maquon-Pauw, Emperor Johannes (Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row).

Race of Great Minsi (Wolf Nation). Hero of the Delawares and Mahicans of the Abenakis Democracy.

chaplains. After the founding of the Protestant Church, the venerable Schaghticoke sachem addressed Governor Hunter saying:

We must acquaint our Father that Sir Edmund Andros,



The Flint-lock King Brandt (Sa Ga Yeath Oua Pieth Tow).

*Race of Great Maquaas (Bear Nation).
King of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.*

some time Governor of the Province, planted a Tree of Welfare at Scackkook under whose branches we sheltered and lived peaceably a long time (1676-1709), and the owners sold *part* of the land on one side of *Scackkook Creek* (Hoosac River), and they were to live on the other side of the Creek, but the Christians would now have it on *both* sides of the Creek and Dispossess us of the lands we formerly planted.

The first whiteman of the Knickerbacker Colony to die was buried in the Schaghticokes' Witenage-

mot burial-field in 1715, and Herman Jansen Knickerbacker was interred there in 1721. All the tenantry of the "Vale of Peace" owned their own "God's Acre" near their log dwellings, where to-day still lies the historic dust of the Dutch founders of Hoosac Valley, now overgrown with briar-tangles and Netherland roses.

A Census of the Freeholders of Albany County was taken in 1722 and among the new names in Old Schaghticoke

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appear those of Samuel Doxie, Simon and Martin Daniels, Peter Winne, Abram Fort, and John J. Bleecker. Governor Burnett the same season addressed the Schaghticoke scouts, telling them that, "the money they squandered for rum, should be spent for food and clothing." The sachem replied: "Therefore we desire our Father to order the tap or crane to be shut and to prohibit the selling of rum, for as long as the Christians will sell rum, our people will drink it."

Twenty-five years later, in 1749, Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, in his *Travels*, records that Albany was the largest fur-market on the continent, and adds that: "The Indians do not get one-tenth of the value of their goods. . . . The Merchants of Albany glory in tricks, and are highly pleased when they have given the poor Indian a greater portion of brandy than he can bear, and they can after that get all his goods for mere trifles."



The Hero, Emperor Hendrick (Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row).

Race of Great Enanthayonni (Wolf Nation). Peace Maker of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The last two gray-haired Schaghticoke sachems died in 1726 and the younger chieftains began to desert the Hoosac Valley of Mingling Waters. Mawwehu, the Pequot sachem of Pumpkin-Hook lodge in White Creek, together with the grandfather of Osceola—the subsequent leader of the Seminoles' Revolution in Florida in 1835—wandered South on a hunting

expedition in 1726. Mawwehu returned and settled in an uninhabited Connecticut vale, encircled by wooded hills, near the junction of St. Agnes Creek with Housatonac River. This vale he christened Pishgacticoke or Skatecook, signifying the blending of two streams, and in 1736 over a hundred of his Old Schaghticoke kindred had joined his New Schaghticoke lodge. The Moravian missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, first discovered Mawwehu's lodge in 1742 and built a forest chapel; after which Dominie Mack christened Mawwehu, Gideon, and baptized one hundred and fifty of his people. The English and Dutch fur-traders about 1763 routed the Moravians, and most of their converted Indians of New Schaghticoke and Old Stockbridge migrated to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The chieftain Keeperdo, known as Hoosac or Mahican Abraham, and Queen Esther, also, of Old Schaghticoke, with four hundred Hoosac, Pennacook, and Abnaquis warriors deserted Hoosac Valley and their Council Tree of Peace between 1726 and 1733. Keeperdo located in the Wood Creek hunting-grounds about Skene Mountain, now Whitehall, and in 1730 pushed on to Ohio Valley. Keeperdo's village in Miami Valley became the birthplace of the grandfather of "Black Hawk"—the subsequent leader of the Indian Revolution of the Northwest against the invading Christians in 1832. Queen Esther and her Schaghticokes located near Old Grey-Lock's Fort St. Regis lodge at Swanton Falls on river Missisquoi in lower Champlain Valley, Vt., and her warriors later migrated to Mississippi Valley.

Governor Crosby held a conference with the last of the Schaghticokes in September, 1733, and urged them to persuade their kindred under Keeperdo and Queen Esther to return with their warriors and shelter beneath the branches and leaves of the "Tree of Peace." He promised to "take care that it flourish and grow." Queen Esther's St. Regis fugitives



Major Derrick Van Vechten Mansion at the base of Pudding-hill in Old Schaaghticoke. An Ontario warrior who aimed a fatal shot from the brow of the hillside killed Herman Van Vechten, son of Major Van Vechten, while standing in the yard near the house during August, 1746.

replied by letter: "We never have been otherwise than good subjects of the King of Great Britain. . . . We are Englishmen in our hearts and if any evil should happen, we shall knock at the door and acquaint you. . . . We are but ignorant people and poor because Rum is so plenty, which the Traders bring to us—we can't kill a deer while we are obliged to sell our powder and lead." The warriors never returned.

General Rigaud's French and Indian army invaded the Hoosac Valley during King George's War in 1746. He sent eighteen fierce Ontario savages down the valley to plunder and massacre about Fort Schaghticoke, but they burned only the Dutch meeting-house. One of the warriors on the brow of Pudding-hill, however, fired a fatal ball, which killed Herman Van Vechten, son of Maj. Derrick Van Vechten, standing in the dooryard of the Van Vechten homestead, now owned by a descendant, Jacob Van Vechten.

The Kittlehuyme massacre quickly followed the death of Herman Van Vechten. Daniel Kittlehuyme and his three brothers were upon friendly terms with the Schaghticokes; little Anna, a daughter of Daniel, was a favorite with the squaws. The Ontario warriors, however, were enemies of the Schaghticokes and Mohawks and would as soon scalp them as the Christians. Daniel and Peter Kittlehuyme, while hunting deer on the banks of the Hoosac, met an ambuscade of Ontarios, one of whom fired and killed Peter. Daniel shot one savage and killed another with the butt of his gun. He fled to his cottage with the dead body of his brother thrown over his pony's back and set out at once for a wagon at Fort Schaghticoke to remove his family to Albany. He had no more than arrived at the Derrick Van Vechten house when an avenging party of Ontarios surrounded his cottage with hideous war-whoops. His youngest brother with his bride from Lake St. Sacrement, little

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Anna, and his infant son were scalped and left in the burning cottage. His wife and brother Henry were taken captives and marched up the Owl Kill with General Rigaud's one hundred and five English and Dutch prisoners to Montreal and thence to Quebec prison-pens. The Kittlehuynes were ransomed and later settled on their farms in Old Schaghticoke. Mrs. Jacob Van Vechten is a descendant of Daniel Kittlehuyme.

Gov. George Clinton on April 14, 1746, requested the Albany Assembly to furnish regular militia to patrol the trails between Fort Albany and Fort Clinton (the latter was completed in March at Old Saratoga) and up the Hoosac from Fort Half-Moon at Stillwater to Fort Schaghticoke, Fort St. Croix, and Fort Massachusetts. Fort Schaghticoke was rebuilt from its foundation during the spring of 1746 and garrisoned by two companies of regulars; and three companies of regulars were posted also at Fort Half-Moon, although it was not until November, 1746, that Capt. Henry Livingston mustered four companies of militia brave enough to take command of Fort Clinton.

The Dutch meeting-house was rebuilt at Old Schaghticoke in the autumn of 1746 and Dominie Theodorus Frielinghuysen of Albany Dutch Church preached there quarterly until 1759. He won the enmity of the British regulars posted at Fort Albany and its outposts by preaching against an amusing theatrical performance entitled, *The Recruiting Officer*, acted upon a stage fitted up in a barn. The actors were all young colonels, ensigns, and other officers who, with painted cheeks, and dressed in great hoops, linsey-woolsey petticoats, and tow trousers and jackets, represented buxom Dutch lasses, while others of their number represented the lasses' "Bully Boys of Helderberg," and New England Yankee schoolmaster varlets. But the people of Albany considered "painted faces the very ultimatum of degen-

eracy.”¹ Dominie Frielinghuysen, during September, 1759, upon finding a staff, a pair of shoes, and a silver dollar beside his parsonage door, resigned and set sail for Holland.

Grandfather Knickerbacker's Bible, bearing the date of 1682, is a long leather-bound volume with brass corners and clasps. It contains the records of marriage, birth, and dying days of the Hoosac Valley Knickerbacker family, and is reported to be the only extant copy of that edition of New Netherland Bibles in New York State. It was used on the sacred desk of the Dutch Church in Old Schaghticoke between 1714 and 1759. The Knickerbacker Bible, Soquon's deed confirmed by Queen Anne in 1707, together with a portrait of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, the Schaghticokes' ceremonial calumets, implements of war and occupation of soil were on exhibition at the Old Mansion until the death of Joseph Foster Knickerbacker—the “Poet of the Vale.” The present proprietor of Knickerbacker Mansion has removed most of the valued relics of both the Schaghticoke and Knickerbacker races of lower Hoosac to his Bloodville Mansion at Ballston Spa, N. Y. The Knickerbacker Bible, for want of a lineal heir, will, after the passing of the present possessor, be deposited in the New York Historical Society Library.

After the opening raid of the French and Indian War on May 28, 1754, Lieut.-Gov. James De Lancey held a conference of peace with the Mohawk and Schaghticoke sachems between June 14th and July 8th. The Schaghticokes made promises that they would “do as their fathers had done before them.” Six weeks later on August 24, 1754, five St. Regis warriors posted at Fort St. Frederic, true to their promise to Governor Crosby in 1733, arrived at St. Croix and warned the dominie of the Tioshoke mission chapel that

¹ Anna McVicar Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, 1808.

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eight hundred French and St. Francis warriors were headed for Dutch and English Hoosac.

At that time the last of the Schaghticoques consisted of about sixty members, including warriors, squaws, and chil-



*A hand-shaved clap-board from Col. Johannes Groesbeck Mansion, riddled with bullet-holes from the French *longues Carabines*—long rifles—fired from the north bank of the Hoosac in 1756, during the French and Indian War.*

dren, residing on the north bank of the Hoosac. They began a *pow-wow*¹ on August 24, 1754, so protracted and singular as to attract the notice and excite the wonder of Fort Schaghticoke garrison and Knickerbacker's Dutch Colony. The warriors for four consecutive days engaged in songs and the *Kinte-kaye* (Devil-dance to Great Hobbamocko); and on the morning of the 29th, after the massacre and burning of

¹ *N. Y. Hist. Mag.*, June, 1870.

Dutch Hoosac hamlets, it was discovered that their huts were tenantless. A whiteman residing on the borders of Schaghticoke village reported that during the whole night



Boulder marking the grave of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, in the Schaghticoke's Witenagemot Burial-field, known to-day as the Knickerbacker Cemetery. Colonel Knickerbacker died in 1749, and his father, Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, known as "Grandfather Knickerbacker," died in 1721, and his grave is marked by a rough boulder, a few feet west of Colonel Knickerbacker's grave. It is undoubtedly the oldest marked grave in the Hoosac Valley.

of August 28th, he overheard Indians running single file at top speed past his cabin door.

On October 8, 1754, Lieut.-Governor De Lancey reported to the Lords of Trade that a party of St. Francis warriors from the village Becancour on the river St. Francis, Canada, had made a fatal incursion at Dutch Hoosac. Under cover of darkness, during a pouring thunder storm, a hundred warriors visited their Schaghticoke kindred, who joined them as

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willing attendants, and marched to St. Regis and St. Francis Indian villages.

Fort Schaghticoke and several of the neighboring mansions were doubly fortified during the summer of 1756. Wouter Groesbeck's homestead near the present junction of the Tomhannac Creek with the Hoosac, stood within a stone's throw of the north bank of the Hoosac and it became a target for bullets from the Canadians and St. Francis *longues Carabines*. The house was repaired by Col. Johannes Groesbeck in 1846, who preserved an old hand-shaved clapboard, twelve feet long by fourteen inches wide, pierced by eighteen bullet holes. He emblazoned on one side of the board in red letters: THE EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH WAR THE YEAR 1756. And on the opposite side: 90 YEARS OLD. The Groesbeck Mansion was torn down a few years ago, and the board is now stored beneath the southern eaves in the attic of the Knickerbacker Mansion.

Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, died in 1749, at the age of seventy years, and his grave is marked by a rough blue boulder in the Schaghticoke's Witenagemot burial-field. He left six children: three sons—Herman, Johannes, 2d, and Wouter; three daughters—Elizabeth, Cornelia, and Helena. Herman and Wouter located in Albany, and Johannes, 2d, born in 1723, inherited the Knickerbacker Mansion; Elizabeth married Sybrant Quackenbosch; Cornelia married Teunis Van Vechten, son of Garret Tunisson-Van Vechten, and Helena died unmarried. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, was like his father commissioned colonel of the Schaghticoke militia connected with Fort Schaghticoke, and led in various expeditions against the hostile Indians during the French and Indian War. He was attached to Lord Howe's staff during the Briton's attack upon the French Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga in 1758, when Lord Howe was slain.

After the departure of the last of the Schaghticoke from

Hoosac Valley on August 28, 1754, Queen Esther, a lineal descendant of Soquon or Maquon, made annual pilgrimages with her warriors and maidens of St. Regis to the "Vale of Peace." They danced beneath their Witenagemot Oak by the light of the moon and scattered sacrificial tokens in the Schaghticokes' burial-field west of the Council Tree, and in the Hoosacs' Tawasentha (vale of the many dead) in the field south of Hobbamocko's Chimney. The latter place was known to the children of a century ago. The late venerable William Banker of East Schaghticoke, as a lad, joined by the village schoolmaster and his pupils, constructed a rope ladder about 70 feet in height and climbed to the top of the limestone-breccia obelisk. They reported that sulphurous fumes issued from the aperture of the chimney. It is evident that at some remote period the "Fallen-hill" was a *Mackimoodus* (place of noises). As such it was chosen as the sacrificial shrine for *pow-wows* to the God of Thunder.

The Devil's Kitchen is located in a deep hollow above the Fallen-hill north of the obelisk, and a typical sand-dune of the interior is located about the Drader-bach—the Dutch designation for the third hill east of the "Vale of Peace." The sand is slowly moving eastward over Schaghticoke Plains. The Evil Spirit of nature has buried a grove of trees, and the vegetation about the place is dwarfed, peculiar to sand-dunes. The Hoosacs recognized the natural phenomena of the Fiend of Calamity about the region.

The last burial in the Hoosacs' Tawasentha is believed to have taken place soon after Uncus, the last royal sachem of Great Unami, was slain in 1757 by Mague, the red Huron chieftain, near Queen Esther's St. Regis lodge on the lower Champlain. Uncus was temporarily buried near St. Regis, according to Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, and later borne to the Manitoulin burial-field of his fathers. His *tumulus* was discernible in the centre of the Tawasentha field as late

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as 1875 and was locally known as the "Indian-cellar." The mound was ploughed down by the late William P. Button, superintendent of Knickerbacker Manor, who sowed the field to wheat. He reported unearthing many warriors' bones and "weapons of rest" in the furrows.

During 1900, William Dyer, superintendent of Knickerbacker Manor, enclosed the Schaghticoke's burial-field, now known as the Knickerbacker Cemetery, with a wall and iron fence. After the passing of the present proprietor, William H. Knickerbacker of Bloodville Mansion at Ballston Spa, N. Y., the key of the Schaghticoke-Knickerbacker Cemetery will be turned over to the Mayor and Council of the City of Albany, who will guard the historic mingled dust of the Savage and Christian for generations to come.

Mawwehu's New Schaghticoke¹ settlement was later incorporated by the English of Connecticut as the town of Kent. At the opening of the nineteenth century the mixed Pequots had dwindled down to thirty-five members, who cultivated only six acres of their Schaghticoke Mountain Reservation, then containing fifteen hundred acres. During 1906, the last fifteen Pequot-Negro half-breeds resided in six little one-story brown cabins and two stores. To-day the Schaghticoke Mountain Reservation of three hundred acres and its buildings is valued at \$3500. The whole fund of the Pequot Colony is estimated at about \$5500 and is controlled by a superintendent, who looks after the welfare of the tribe. The venerable Queen Vinie had a white mother. She is a great grand-daughter of the sachem Mawwehu and resides with her half-sister Rachel, a full-blooded Pequot, in a cottage near that of Hen Pan, who is proud that in his veins flows the unmixed blood of Great Unami. He has emblazoned in large red letters on his chimney: "I AM O. K." in spite of the

¹ C. Burr Todd, *In Olde Connecticut*, pp. 208-216

fact that his brother Jim Pan, and his white wife, and two children share his cottage.

Mawwehu's burial-field at New Schaghticoke is located under a bold cliff of Schaghticoke Mountain, over which the Falls of St. Agnes tumble through many a pot-hole to the Housatonac River. The Christians have long since forced the sons of Great Unami of MOHEGONECK from the ebbing rivers of their fathers. To-day the vanishing warriors murmur:

And fast they follow, as we go
Toward the setting day,—
Till they shall fill the land, and we
Are driven into the western sea.¹

¹ Bryant, *An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers.*

CHAPTER V

FORT ST. CROIX AND THE PATROONS OF FRENCH AND DUTCH HOOSAC

1624-1759

*All beside thy limpid waters,
All beside thy sands so bright;
Indian Chiefs and Christian warriors
Joined in fierce and mortal fight.*

Spanish Ballad in PERCY.

Dutch Boers and French Walloons, 1615-1624—Fort Crailo and Rensselaerwyck, 1624-1663—Fort St. Croix and Van Ness Colony, 1724—Tioshoke—Nepimore—Falls Quequick—Dutch Hooesac and Kreigger Rock Hamlets—Tioshoke Moravian Mission—Dutch Hooesac and German Lutheran Church—English Survey of Upper Hoosac Towns, 1739-1749—Walloomsac Patent, 1739—King George's or Shirley's War, 1744-1748—General Rigaud's Invasion of Hoosac Valley, 1746—French and Indian War, 1754—Fall of Quebec and Burning of St. Francis Village of Becancour, 1759.

RENSSELAERWYCK, St. Croix, and Hoosac manors lie west of the Taconacs in New York. The distant blue shoulders of Mount Greylock's brotherhood loom up against the southeastern sky, through the Hoosac Pass in Massachusetts; and southward, up the narrow defile of the Little Hoosac, gleam the "Sugar-loaf mountains" and "Johnny-cake hills" of ancient Rensselaerwyck, N. Y. Eastward, through the Walloomsac Pass, tower the spruce domes of the Green Mountains in Vermont. And from the west meanders the Nepimore Creek from Rensselaer Hills through the pine woods of "Shingle Hollow"; while the devious Owl Kill from the north, after following the famous war-trail of the picturesque Cambridge Valley, joins the

Hoosac near Eagle Bridge—twelve miles below the blending of the Hoosacs.

Several French Walloon families joined the Dutch Boers in 1624, settling on the site of Fort Crailo in Greenbush and Fort Half-Moon below Cohoes Falls. Fort Crailo neighborhood in 1630 included the Van Bris, Van Cuyler, Van Denburgh, Van Hegan, Van Der Heyden, Van Ness, Van Staats, Van Schaick, Vrooman, De Peyster, and the Maessen or Van Buren families. The latter ran a tavern and his grandson, Martin Van Buren, became President of the United States in 1837.

Fort Crailo was built sometime between 1630 and 1642. Sheriff Albertzen Plank of Fort Orange in 1637, and Arendt Van Corlaer,¹ a cousin of patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, negotiated, with the Mahicansac sachems, for the Taconac Lake District, twenty-four miles square, on the east bank of the Hudson; and during 1642 Hendrick Albertzen ran a ferry boat between Fort Orange and Fort Crailo neighborhoods.

The Patroon of Rensselaerwyck built cottages, barns, mills, tanneries, and breweries, and partly stocked his tenants' farms. He required half of all increased stock, fowl, butter, cheese, and also a certain number of days of labor to be applied in cutting wood, logs, and building roads, for the first ten years, until the forests were cleared. After that he demanded an annual quit-rent of two bushels of winter wheat or corn, for every one hundred acres cultivated, averaging \$120 to \$200 for each farm. The yield of wheat per bushel was twelve to twenty bushels, according to the soil. Rents could be paid in beaver-skins or wampum at the market price, beaver-skins during King William's War being valued at about \$1.60 in coin or York currency. The landlord's office was built in 1666, near the corner of Tivoli

¹ Corlaer, also spelled Curler.

street on the Albany and Troy road. It is considered the oldest building within the limits of the city of Albany to-day.

During June, 1642, Arendt Van Corlaer, Commissary-General of Fort Orange, then about twenty-two years of age, turned his thoughts to marriage. He visited his elder brother, Capt. Jacobus Van Corlaer, of Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut. It was about this time that the scholarly Swede, Jonas Bronck of Bronx Valley, was killed by the Wickquaskeek Indians. A letter of Arendt Van Corlaer, dated June 16, 1643, to his cousin, Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, says: "I am at present betrothed to the widow of the late Jonas Bronck. May the Good God vouchsafe and bless me in my undertaking." The following season Arendt Van Corlaer, 2d, was born at Fort Orange, and Captain Van Corlaer and his son were destined to found Fort Schonowe Colony on the site of Schenectady in 1661.

The Indian massacre of Esopus, now Kingston, took place in June, 1663, and the tenantry of the west bank of the Hudson sought refuge at Fort Crailo on Patroon Van Rensselaer's farm at Greenbush. The night watch included: Capt. Cornelius Van Ness and his three sons, Hendrick, Garret, and Jan Van Ness; Corp. William Bout, Cornelius Stephenson, Pieter Müllen (Mellen), Adams Dingermans, Jan Juriaensen, Jacobus Jansen, Tyman Hendricksen, Jan Oothout, Hendrick Maessen (Van Buren), Garret Tunisson (Van Vechten), Hans Jacobsen, Hendrick Williamson, and Claes Claessen. Hendrick Van Ness and Garret Tunisson (Van Vechten) twenty-five years later became two of the proprietors of the Hoosac Patent in central Hoosac.

In February, 1666, during the Mohawk and Hoosac War, Gov. Samuel Courcelle of New France lead a party of six hundred French and Algonquin warriors to harass the Mohawks about Fort Schonowe. Several of the Canadians were cap-

The Hoosac Valley

tured by the Mohawks, and Capt. Arendt Van Corlaer ransomed and returned them to the defeated Courcelle. The grateful Governor invited Van Corlaer to visit Canada, and while on his journey, he was accidentally drowned, in 1667, near Fort Cassin, north of the junction of Otter Creek with Lake Champlain. The *Peton-boque waters* were known for a century thereafter as Lake Corlaer, in memory of "Brother Corlaer," the Indians' Friend.

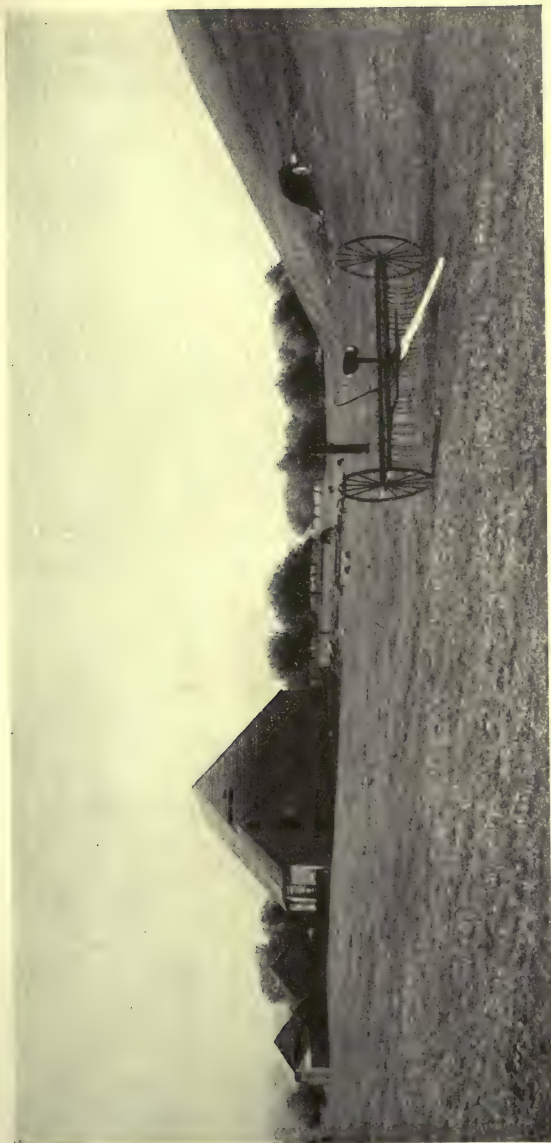
At the time Gov. Thomas Dongan granted Hoosac Patent¹ on June 2, 1688, to Maria Van Rensselaer and Hendrick Van Ness of Albany, Garret Tunison (Van Vechten) of Catskill, and Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York City, Arendt Van Corlaer, 2d, was a man forty-five years of age. His son, Arendt Van Corlaer, 3d, was born in 1690, during the perilous year following the Massacre of Schenectady and the opening of King William's War. He inherited a portion of the Great Lot 10 of Hoosac Patent; and in 1709 at the age of nineteen years settled at St. Croix, in company with the fur-trader Adam Vrooman, son of Bartle Vrooman of Old Saratoga.

Meanwhile Garret Cornelius Van Ness, eldest son of Hendrick Van Ness, one of the proprietors of Hoosac Patent, was born December 2, 1702. He inherited St. Croix manor, two miles square, on the northeast bank of the Hoosac, lying between the junctions of the Owl Kill and the Walloomsac. At the age of twenty-two, in 1724, he married Sarah Van Valkenburgh of Albany. He erected a saw-mill and grist-mill on the present site of St. Croix Mills,² near the junction of Little White Creek with the Walloomsac, a mile east of the site of Hoosac Junction, and built his manorial mansion on the terrace twenty rods above the Walloomsac ford.³ About the same time the Dutch stockade, on the site of the Jesuits'

¹ See illustration, Chapter III.

² See illustration, Chapter XVII.

³ See illustration, Preface.



Garret Cornelius Van Ness St. Croix Manor, showing the Dutch-roofed Colonial Barn and the Fort St. Croix Terrace on the right hand. Undoubtedly the St. Ange fur-traders from France built a fort and chapel on this terrace in 1540-1542, and the Jesuits aided Kryn's Mohawks build another fort and chapel, during the Mohawk and Hoosac War, on the site in 1667-1669. On this terrace the Dutch founded Fort St. Croix in 1724, and it was replaced by the English Stockade Fort in 1756. During Revolutionary days it is said:

Strangers came to build a tower
And threw their ashes overhand;
Some rusted swords appear in dust,

One, bending forward, says:
The arms belong to heroes gone,
We never heard their praise in song.
OSSIAN, Duan of Ca-Lodin.

Fort St. Croix, was built on the high bluff a few rods east of Van Ness Mansion.

The Dutch Fort St. Croix, erected in 1724, was undoubtedly similar to all New York border stockades and contained mounted cannon similar to those of Fort Orange and Fort Crailo, so adjusted as to hurl small boulders whenever cannon balls were scarce. A dozen rusty balls, however, have been unearthed on St. Croix terrace by the present proprietor of Van Ness homestead, Nicholas Hathaway, during the last ten years. The field is strewn with thousands of small boulders, many of which were undoubtedly hurled against the enemy between 1540 and 1777.

The scalping forays of the French, headed by Kryn's and Grey-Lock's "Praying warriors" of St. François and St. Regis, during the Jesuits' War between 1689 and Father Râle's death in 1724, led through the Hoosac Pass to Deerfield and Northfield villages of the English; as did the subsequent invasions of the French and St. Francis warriors during King George's War, and the later French and Indian War. A French writer recorded that within a certain definite period of short duration, twenty-seven detachments of St. Francis warriors headed by Jesuit chaplains, made incursions into the country settled by the Dutch and English Protestants.

St. Croix, Dutch Hooesac, and Kreigger neighborhoods, located in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs between the junctions of the Owl Kill and Cohoha or Wash-Tub Brook with the Hoosac at Kreigger Rocks, suffered more from those avenging forays of King Philip's fugitive warriors than did Knickerbacker's Dutch colony on the lower Hoosac, or Williams's English proprietries on the upper Hoosac.

The Hoosac Patent, granted in 1688, covered all the fertile meadow-land two miles in width on both banks of the Hoosac, between the Fallen-hill in Old Schaghticoke, and

the north line of Rensselaerwyck, near the junction of the Little Hoosac with the Big Hoosac.

The founders of the Fort St. Croix in 1724 included: Patroon Garret Cornelius Van Ness, Arendt Van Corlaer, 3d, Adam Vrooman, Pitt Van Hogleboom, George Nicolls, a descendant of Col. Richard Nicolls of the British war-fleet of 1664; Johannes De Ruyter, a descendant of General De Ruyter of the Battle of Solebay; Juria Kreigger, a descendant of Col. William Kreigger of Governor Stuyvesant's Fort Amsterdam militia in 1664; Jan Oothout, a grandson of Hans Reinier Oothout of Capt. Jacobus Van Corlaer's Fort Good Hope garrison on the Connecticut; Jacob Onderkirk, a grandson of Oldert Onderkirk of Fort Half-Moon; Daniel and Albertus Brodt (Bratt), Rykert Borie (Bovie), Jacob and Abram Fort, Johannes Van Denburgh, Johannes De Fonda, Jan Huyck, David and Stephen Van Rensselaer, Robert Leake (Lake), William Nicholas, Andrew Norwood, George Searles, Pieter Sur Dam, and many another "Rip Van Winkle" of the "Bully Boys" of Helderberg, whose gravestones have long since crumbled to dust and whose names have been forgotten. The only records of the St. Croix forefathers are found to-day on the *Manitou aseniah*, (Spirit-stones) marking the site of the Tioshoke Churchyard, northwest of Fort St. Croix terrace.

According to tradition, there was a quaint Dutch village about the site of the Tioshoke Church between 1724 and 1746. The leases of Patroon Van Ness to his tenants reveal that the crossroads of his manor connected with the "Great Road," now known as Cambridge Turnpike, leading between the junction of the Owl Kill to the St. Croix Mills, at the junction of the Little White Creek with the Walloomsac.

On either side the river lie
Long fields of barley and of rye.

The first Tioshoke Church was undoubtedly founded by Count Zinzendorf's Moravian missionaries from Germany and Bohemia, between 1741 and 1754. After the close of



The St. Croix Burial-field located about the site of the Tioshoke Mission Chapel of Colonial days. The tombstones in the foreground mark the grave of Arendt Van Corlaer, 3d, who died in 1797 at the age of 107 years.

The Hoosacs recognized the rude slabs of marble as Manitou-aseniah, Spirit-stones, and carved their Wakon-bird stones from quartzite or marble, which their priests used in their own burial ceremony.

Heroes "survive storms and the spears of their foes, and performe a few heroic deeds, and then:

*'Mounds will answer questions of them,
For many future years.' "*

THOREAU, The Heroes' Cairn.

the French and Indian War the dominie's parsonage and Dr. Hugh Richey's dwelling stood near the site of the Tioshoke Church-yard, now containing the tombstone marking the grave of Arendt Van Corlaer, 3d,¹ who died in 1797, at the

¹ The name Corlaer is spelled *Curler* on his gravestone. He was of French Walloon origin.

age of 107. In the hamlet was Patroon Van Ness's Mansion; and about the site of his St. Croix Mills stood a number of dwellings for tenants and slaves, a schoolhouse, ashery, store, blacksmithy, wagonshop, and tannery, before General Rigaud's invasion, during King George's War in 1746.

Simultaneous with the founding of Fort St. Croix Colony in 1724, tenantry from Fort Half-Moon and Fort Schaghticoke colonies pushed up the three branches of the Wanepimoseck Creek, leading toward Rensselaer's Plateau from Hart's Falls, Valley Falls, and Eagle Bridge. Philip Van Ness, a cousin of Garret Cornelius Van Ness, founded the Tioshoke Colony on the north bank of the Hoosac, below the junction of the Owl Kill, about 1724, and later built a saw-mill and grist-mill. He was joined by Wouter Van Vechten, Lewis Van Woerd, Johannes Quakenbosch, Nicholas Groesbeck, and Pieter and Ludovicus Viele, sons of Yocob Viele of the Knickerbacker Colony. Johannes Van Buskirk, Augustus Van Cortlandt, and Augustus Van Horne later located on the south bank of the Hoosac, opposite Philip Van Ness's Tioshoke hamlet, and founded Buskirk Bridge hamlet. Van Cortlandt and Van Horne, as heirs of patroon Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York City, inherited the Great Lots of Hoosac Patent, including the Falls Quequick forests.

About two years after Fort St. Croix was built, the fur-trader, Jan Oothout, cleared a lot on the east bank of Falls Quequick and built the first log house within the present limits of Hoosac Falls; the site was subsequently occupied by the Henry Barnhart and Samuel Bowen saw-mill, in 1754. Pitt Van Hogleboom, son of the fur-trader, Bart Van Hogleboom, from the junction of Bart's Kill—Batten Kill,—also cleared a lot two miles above Falls Quequick and built a log house, which was subsequently owned by Nicholas Brown. Jacob Onderkirk, son of Cornelius Onderkirk of Fort Half-Moon, cleared a large farm a few years later on the

west bank of Hoosac, two miles above Falls Quequick; and other homesteaders forced their way up the Nepimore, or Nipmuth Creek, to "Shingle Hollow," where they made pine shingles, tar, and turpentine.

Eight or ten greedy burghers, also, of Rensselaerwyck, headed by Juria Kreigger, pushed up the Hoosac Pass about 1724 and "squatted" on the Cohoha cornfields, near the junction of Wash-Tub Brook with the Hoosac, about Kreigger's Rocks and at Weeping Rocks, nearly four miles east of Twenty-Mile Line of New York, on the New Hampshire Grants. No contemporary records exist of those settlements, although after Pownal was chartered to the English in 1760, the Dutch land claimants of several farms included the names of Juria Kreigger, Petrus Voseburgh (Vose), Bastian Van Deel (Diel), Franz Burns and his brother, Pitt Hogle (Van Hogleboom), Henry Young, Schorel Marters Watson, Mr. Devot, Long Andries, John Spencer; and later the Van Arnam, Van Norman, Anderson, Fischer, and Westinghouse families.

A partial division of the Great Lots of the eastern end of Hoosac Patent took place, May 15, 1732. The heirs of Maria Van Rensselaer, Hendrick Van Ness, Garret Tunisson-Van Vechten, and Jacobus Van Cortlandt drew their lots. Catherine Van Vechten, a granddaughter of Garret Tunisson-Van Vechten and Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, of Old Schaghticoke, drew several shares. In 1735, she married Barnardus Bratt, or Brodt, who purchased the rights of several other Van Vechten heirs; his great wealth and assumption of manorial rights distinguished him locally as the "Patroon of Hoosac." He built his manorial mansion, huge Dutch-roofed barns, mills, and tannery in 1736 about the present site of Petersburg Junction Station.¹ The corn-mill stood on the Patroon's Brook, which flows through a

¹ Located in Hoosac, N. Y.

The Patroons of French and Dutch Hoosac 119

ravine north of the site of the present Gardner Mansion and which joins the Hoosac a mile below Petersburg Junction. The broken mill-stone still lies bleaching on the bank of the brook. After the advent of the wealthy "Patroon of Hoosac," waving fields of grain and barracks of straw loomed up on either bank of the devious Hoosac,

That clothe the wold and meet the sky;
And through the fields the road runs by.

The historic hamlet of "Dutch Hooesac," burned by General Rigaud during King George's War in August, 1746, lay partly on Bratt's Big Hoosac manor and partly on Van Rensselaer's Little Hoosac manor. The Dutch meeting-house, schoolhouse, blacksmith-shop, and store, stood about the junction of the Hoosac and Little Hoosac roads on the site of Petersburg Four Corners. A brisk trade in hides, tallow, furs, beer, rum, flour, provisions, and clothing was carried on between the tenantry of the Dutch patroons of Hoosac, Rensselaerwyck, St. Croix, and Fort Massachusetts.

Among the first homesteaders of Rensselaerwyck and Hoosac manors may be named: Johannes De Ruyter, Hendrick Letcher, Petrus and Hans Bachus, Johannes George Brimmer, and Jacob Best. In the De Fonda neighborhood east of Bratt's Mansion at the base of De Fonda Hill resided the Van Derricks, Johannes De Fonda, Knott, Robert and Jan Huyck families. The latter descended from Dominie Jan Huyck, who first located at New Amsterdam in 1626. Descendants of Jan Huyck are found in Herkimer, N. Y., and the De Fondas founded Fonda in the Mohawk Valley.

The English missionaries, Jonathan Sergeant, Timothy Woodbridge, and Samuel Hopkins in 1732 located at Skatecook, near the junction of Green River with the Housatonac, on the site of Sheffield, Mass. Ephraim Williams, Sr.,

Josiah Jones, Joseph Woodbridge, and Ephraim Brown located about King Aepjen's Monument Mountain village, and incorporated the town, Stockbridge, in 1739. Ephraim Williams, Sr., was also commissioned to lay out one or more townships on the upper Hoosac during May, 1739, when he discovered the Dutch burghers of Rensselaerwyck located near Rattlesnake Brook on the border of Williamstown, Mass. The Sheriff of Rensselaerwyck and the Schaghticoke sachems advanced to the headwaters of the Hoosac and routed the English surveyors.

Lieut.-Gov. George Clarke of Albany on June 5, 1739, advertised all "the vacant land east of Hoosac Patent," for settlement. The Walloomsac Patent covering twelve thousand acres of meadow-land on the banks of the Walloon Creek was granted to six proprietors including: James De Lancey, Charles Williams, Edward Collins, Gerardus Stuyvesant, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and Frederick Morris of Albany. The tract began two miles east of the Hoosac River and extended eastward up the Walloomsac to Haviland's Brook, known to-day as Paran Creek, in North Bennington, Vt.

Gov. Jonathan Belcher of Boston, after the English were routed from the upper Hoosac, in June, 1739, addressed several letters to Lieut.-Gov. George Clarke, requesting a Mutual Board of Commissioners to decide upon the Twenty-Mile Line between New York and Massachusetts, in order to better secure the New England borders, "whereupon some few people have already got and inhabit." The letters were ignored and Richard Hazen was engaged to survey and establish the present northern line of Massachusetts in April, 1741, and Fort Massachusetts was built during the summer of 1745.

Commissary Major Israel Williams of Massachusetts border forts directed Lieut. John Catlin, 2d, to negotiate with the

patroons of Dutch Hoosac for supplies. On August 5, 1745,¹ both Capt. Garret Cornelius Van Ness and Barnardus Bratt visited Fort Massachusetts, and Captain Van Ness agreed to supply flour delivered at the Van Derrick Mansion in Dutch Hooesac at 28 per skipel, in exchange for New England rum, hides, and tallow at market price shipped to his son, Cornelius Van Ness, a wholesale merchant in New York City.

Ambuscades of savages began to lurk throughout Hoosac Valley after the English commenced to build Fort Massachusetts. Nicholas Bovie of Kreigger neighborhood, now North Pownal, Vt., was scalped and left for dead, although he survived many years and was known as "Scalped Dick." His uncle, Petrus Bovie, while a garrison soldier at Fort Massachusetts, was killed during October, 1747, and Pitt Van Hogleboom and his youngest son were later slain. The latter, according to his mother, was buried on the bank of the Hoosac in the Cohoha cornfield.² The late Alonzo Whipple, one of the Pownal citizens, located his disinterred grave many years ago after a freshet, and recovered his brass-bowled pipe, which is now in the possession of V. D. S. Merrill of Bennington, Vt.

In June, 1746, while Franz Burns and his brother were hoeing in Cohoha cornfield, they saw their barn on fire. On nearing their cottage door they beheld a stack of French rifles and in their fright the brothers separated. One ascended the trail over the Kreigger Rocks and hastened up the valley to Fort Massachusetts, and the other turned up the river and met an ambushade of warriors, who gave chase for his scalp. He plunged into the river and hid beneath piles of driftwood until the Indians retreated down the valley. The next morning he rose from his hiding-place and proceeded to the English fort, where to his surprise he found his brother.

¹ Note 2, at end of volume.

² See illustration, Chapter VI., p. 137.

The Hoosac Valley

Two months later General Rigaud invaded Hoosac Valley with a vast army of French and St. Francis Indians. They encamped on the Burns brothers, Cohoha cornfield, west of Kreigger Rocks, and sent scouts to observe Fort Massachusetts. Captain Van Ness and Barnardus Bratt did not warn the English commander of an advancing enemy, hoping thereby to escape molestation, as during former invasions of the Canadas. Rigaud's returning army and English captives encamped on the Van Derrick meadow, near Dutch Hooesac. General Rigaud recorded the loss of Dutch Hooesac to be £50,000 York currency and an equal loss at St. Croix.

Young Cornelius Van Ness in 1750, after his marriage with Alida Van Woerdt, a daughter of Capt. Lewis Van Woerdt of Tioshoke, returned from New York City to St. Croix manor, to reside there with his father.

The French and Indian War was first announced in central Hoosac on May 28, 1754, by a party of French and Indians, who encamped at the Barnhart and Bowen, Falls Quequick saw-mills. The Van Ness, Van Corlaer, Van Woerdt, Vrooman, Oothout, Onderkirk, Bratt, Van Derrick, De Ruyter, Letcher, Bachus, De Fonda, Huyck, Van Deel (Diel), Voseburgh (Vose), Van Hogleboom, and Kreigger families made their escape to Fort Massachusetts ahead of the war-party. The enemy later burned both St. Croix and Dutch Hooesac and marched up the valley. The Dutch burghers on their way to Fort Massachusetts sent a warning to the English proprietors at West Hoosac hamlet, now Williamstown, and Capt. Elisha Chapin assigned them the West Hoosac homesteaders' barracks. Upon the arrival of the English, therefore, they found their quarters crowded with a "Dutch clutter," and several families were forced to journey on to their Connecticut homes. This led to a bitter military jealousy, and the Connecticut settlers built a fort on the Square in West Hoosac, not only

as a refuge from the French and Indians but from the Dutch.

The loss of the patroons on May 28, 1754, in Dutch Hooesac and St. Croix, as reported by Captain Chapin, consisted of "Seven dwellings, fourteen barns, and fourteen barracks of wheat amounting to £4000 York currency in each hamlet."

The Brimmer massacre took place two weeks later, on June 15th. Johannes George Brimmer and his three sons were laboring in their cornfield when an Indian blanket was discovered by the elder Brimmer. He signalled to his sons to follow him with the team to their dwelling. Jeremiah, the eldest son, while mounting one of the horses, was killed by a fatal ball, and immediately four savages rose from their ambush. Godfrey and Jonathan Brimmer seized their guns and ran behind a brush-fence, but the warriors soon located them. Godfrey fired without effect, and according to custom of surrender, dropped the butt of his gun and placed his left hand over its muzzle. He then extended his right hand to his captor, who seized him by his collar band, passed around him three times, and laid his right hand upon his head. Another savage seized Jonathan, a lad of sixteen years, and performed a similar ceremony, after which the party turned down the Hoosac. Jonathan picked up several small boulders as he crossed the Walloomsac ford and threw them at his captor, which caused the savage to laugh in admiration at Jonathan's defiance.

The Brimmer boys marched up the Owl Kill to St. Johns lodge, where they were welcomed by three hundred Schaghticoke and St. Francis warriors. The lads were seated in the centre of the circle and requested to sing hymns. After their third refusal the savages prepared to torture them in order to *make* them sing, but an old Indian hunter, who had visited the Brimmer home, arose and prevented the torture, and six weeks later they were sold as slaves to French officers.

After the Fall of Quebec in 1759, the Brimmer boys escaped and were again captured by the British near Fort Ticonderoga. Patroon Stephen Van Rensselaer obtained their release and they returned to their parents at Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson.

A party of thirty soldiers from Fort Albany visited "Dutch Hooesac" and buried the body of Jeremiah Brimmer the latter part of June, beside the great boulder near the present residence of Henry J. Brimmer. The family returned to their farm in Hoosac Pass about 1763 and Jonathan remained on the homestead, and Godfrey located on upper Little Hoosac. The late Hezekiah Coon and Daniel Brimmer remembered the adventurous tales related to them by the venerable Jonathan and Godfrey Brimmer.

Lieut.-Gov. James De Lancey held a conference with the Schaghticoke and Mohawk sachems between June 14th and July 8th, in 1754, and advised the Albany Assembly that it was time that the colonists should exert themselves to stop the passage of the French, no less barbarous than the Indians, prowling through the unguarded passes of the Hoosac Valley, to scalp and lead British subjects to captivity in New France.

Eight weeks after the Brimmer massacre, St. Croix and Dutch Hooesac were totally burned. Two official letters of Capt. Elisha Chapin addressed to Col. Israel Williams, dated at Fort Massachusetts, picture the deserted hamlets of central Hoosac between August 3d and 28th, 1754.

FORT MASSACHUSETTS,

August 3, 1754.

SIR:

Last Sunday morning I sent a scout to Sencoick (St. Croix) and they returned this minit. They find where the Indians marched off and burned all afore them. They think there was about 400 of the enemy. They see a man

come out of Albany yesterday. The Gent. of Albany was very desirous that he should come to the fort and acquaint me that there is 44 Indian canoes come out 9 days sense and desine for our scattering frontieers in New England.

From Sir

Yrs

to Com

Elisha Chapin.

FORT MASSACHUSETTS,

August 25, 1754.

SIR:

This day there came a man from the Dutch and informs me that 4 days past there came 5 Indians from Crownpint and informs them that there is eight hundred Indians desine to destroy Hosuck (Hooesac) and oare new town (Williams-town) and this fort, and desine to be upon us this night. I sent a man right down to Hosuck to hear farther about the iffair, but the people was all moved off but 2 or 3 that was coming to the fort and they tell him the same account. The Indians that brought the account was sent in order to have some parsons move from Sencoick (St. Croix) that they had regard for, but if they come I hope we are well fixt for them.

In hast from

Sr

Your's etc.

Command. Elisha Chapin.¹

During the campaigns of 1755 and 1756 the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York fortified the trails leading up the Little Hoosac and Green River to Housatonac Valley. Col. Israel Williams of Berkshire militia submitted plans² for the Hoosac Valley defences to Governor Shirley on September 12, 1754. He proposed that "two new forts" should be built—one on the Square in West Hoosac,

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 250.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 286–291.

now Williamstown, to be garrisoned by Connecticut militia; and another at St. Croix, near the junction of the Walloomsac, to be garrisoned by New York militia. He considered that if those "large openings" were closed and a proper garrison and artillery posted at Fort Half-Moon, Fort Schaghticoke, and Fort Massachusetts, the frontier English settlements of Deerfield and Stockbridge would be protected. Fort Hoosac was built during March, 1756, and Fort St. Croix about the same time, although there is no contemporary record of the latter fort's construction. Capt. Isaac Wyman's *Journal of Operations of Fort Massachusetts*¹ during the early summer of 1756, under date of June 15th, records that: General Winslow sent Major Thaxter and one hundred and fifty men from Fort Half-Moon "acrost to our Fort at the loar Eand of Melomscot"² (Walloomsac), proving that a fort was built there at that time.

During the late summer of 1759, Col. Israel Williams rallied his Massachusetts regiment and reinforced General Wolfe's army against the French at Quebec. His troopers, marching down the Hoosac Valley trail, kept an eye on the deserted cornfields of Dutch Hoosac and St. Croix. After the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, hundreds of Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Adventists, Presbyterians, and Methodists located on patents in Schaghticoke, Cambridge, Hoosac, and Rensselaer military districts, where their stone walls remain and the old grafted stock survives in the orchards to-day.

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 278-280.

² *Melomscot* refers to Mellen's patent, one of first settlers on the Walloomsac Tract. It was mentioned by the German officer Glick in 1777. Capt. Isaac Wyman's *Journal*, kept between May 19 and July 10, 1756, came into the hands of Col. Israel Williams, successor of Col. John Stoddard's Hampshire (Berkshire) County militia, in 1748. It descended to Capt. John Williams, a son of Col. Israel Williams, residing in Old Deerfield. Gen. E. Hoyt, author of *Indian Wars*, 1824, discovered the *Journal*, August 31, 1820.

CHAPTER VI

FORT MASSACHUSETTS AND ENGLISH HOOSAC

1745-1746

*In a pleasant glade,
With mountains round about environed,
And mighty woods, which did the valley shade,
And like a stately theatre it made,
Spreading itself into a spacious plain;
And in the midst a little river played.*

SPENSER.

Fort Massachusetts, 1745-1746—Schaghticoke's Challenge of Hoosac Headwaters—Ephraim Williams, Jr.—King George's or Shirley's War, 1744-1748—Rigaud De Vaudreuil's Invasion, 1746—Burning of Fort—March of English Captives to Quebec—Return of Redeemed Captives, 1747—Tombs of Chaplain Norton and Sergeant Hawks.

IN 1745, twenty-one years after Fort St. Croix was built in Dutch Hoosac, the English built Fort Massachusetts a mile west of the junction of the Mayoonsac with the Ashawagsac, in the present limits of the First Ward of the City of North Adams. Nature set her seal of grandeur upon this veritable Thermopylæ, and it became a counterpart of the glade to which Belphebe bore the wounded Timias.

The felling of the first pine trees for the construction of Fort Massachusetts opened a clearing sixty rods in extent on the ox-bow meadow about the site of the blockhouse. The St. Francis Ledge was exposed on the north; Hoosac ford on the east; a cornfield on the south extended along the river's bank, and on the west stretched an undisturbed spruce and hemlock marsh-land four miles to the pine grove of River Bend campground, north of the site of Moody Bridge in Williamstown.

The blockhouse on the upper Hoosac was modelled after Fort Shirley, and Lieut. John Catlin, 2d, accompanied by several Fort Shirley and Fort Pelham soldiers, came over the "Forbidden Hoosac Mountain" during the early summer

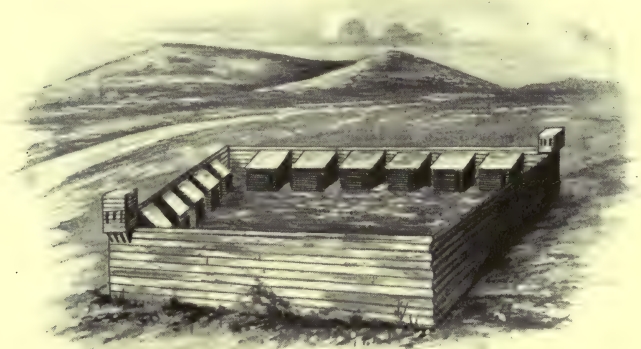


The Perry Elm, marking the site of Fort Massachusetts, built during summer of 1745 on the ox-bow meadow at the northern base of Mount Williams of the Greylock Range, North Adams, Massachusetts.

of 1745, and built the fort. The Schaghticokes and their St. Regis and St. Francis kindred watched every movement and forbade the carpenters to complete the blockhouse until they first purchased the "Great Meadow." Lieutenant Catlin, 2d, evidently promised to negotiate for the land, but in 1751 the Schaghticoke chieftains complained that: "The English were not as good as their word."¹

¹ Note 10, at end of volume.

Fort Massachusetts, according to Col. John Stoddard's orders,¹ was built sixty feet square. The walls were twelve feet high, by fourteen inches thick, constructed of pine logs hewn down to six x fourteen-inch face, placed upon a stone foundation, one log above another. The timbers of the corners and side walls were dove-tailed and spiked together with dowel-pins of red oak. The fort gate faced northward



Fort Massachusetts Blockhouse, showing the garrison's barracks and the watch-towers on the exposed angles of the Fort for the discharge of the sharpshooters' rifles.

upon St. Francis Ledge, and the barracks were eleven feet wide, with sloping "salt-box" roofs, located against the east and south walls. The mounts consisted of platforms twelve feet square on the northwest and southeast angles of the blockhouse walls, upon which were built watch-towers seven feet in height, pierced with loop-holes for the discharge of rifles. The well with its huge sweep stood in the northeast angle of the parade, which was forty-nine by sixty feet in extent.

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 80.

Two official letters of Lieutenant Catlin,¹ dated Fort Massachusetts in August, 1745, and addressed to the commissary, Maj. Israel Williams, at Hatfield, prove that he had been advised to negotiate with the patroons of Dutch Hoosac and St. Croix for garrison supplies. At that time it was impossible to haul flour from Capt. Moses Rice's Charlemont Mills, fourteen miles eastward, except on horse-back over the Hoosac Mountain road. Barnardus Bratt of Dutch Hoosac, fourteen miles below Fort Massachusetts, and Capt. Garret Cornelius Van Ness of Fort St. Croix, ten miles farther down the valley, operated the finest flouring mills in the American Colonies.

In June, 1746, Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., removed his headquarters from Fort Shirley to Fort Massachusetts. His first muster-roll between December 10, 1745, and June 9, 1746,² contains forty-two names, not including the Fort Shirley reinforcements, who arrived in May, 1746. The Schaghticoques and St. Francis kindred lurked constantly along the river bank during the planting season, and Sergt. John Hawks and John Mighills on May 9th, while riding on one horse near the fort gate, were attacked by two savages. Sergeant Hawks, although wounded, recovered his gun and aimed it at the warriors, who begged for quarter and ran for the woods.

The St. Francis chieftain, Cadenaret, with a party of his warriors from the village of Becancour, on the river St. Francis, lay hidden on the Hoosac's bank, awaiting an opportunity to attack the soldiers hoeing in the cornfield June 2d. Elisha Nims from Fort Shirley was shot and scalped, and Gershorm Hawks of Charlemont, a nephew of Sergt. John Hawks, was slightly wounded. The other soldiers ran for the shelter of the fort, but another gang of savages rose from ambuscade between them and the gate and attempted

¹ Note 2, at end of volume.

² *Ibid.*, Note 3.

to cut off their retreat. The sharpshooters posted in the southeast watch-tower repulsed the enemy, although Benjamin Taintor, a Fort Shirley recruit, was captured.

The savages sullenly retreated down the Hoosac Pass, for they had left their beloved chieftain, Cadenaret, slain behind them. The English discovered his hastily made *tumulus* later on the river's edge, near the cornfield. Buried with him was the long rope with which he intended to lead a string of English captives to Quebec.

During April, 1746, the British Ministry rallied 8200 volunteer troops from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, in order to besiege the French and Indians of New France. Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., was absent from Fort Massachusetts most of the summer, and left the fortification under the command of Sergt. John Hawks.

After the volunteer troops were organized against Canada, it was discovered that Fort Massachusetts' garrison was inadequate to make a proper defence of the Hoosac Pass. It was doubly afflicted also with an epidemic of bloody-flux and it was necessary to send for Dr. Thomas Williams, the Chaplain, John Norton, and fourteen Fort Shirley soldiers. The relief party arrived at Fort Massachusetts Friday, August 15th, and the following morning Sergeant Hawks despatched Dr. Williams and fourteen soldiers to Fort Deerfield with a letter addressed to Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., asking for supplies and ammunition. He reported that fresh Indian moccasin tracks had been observed by the patrolling scout a few miles below the fort.

Only twenty soldiers, ten of whom were dangerously ill, besides Sergeant Hawks and Chaplain Norton, were left to defend Fort Massachusetts after the departure of Dr. Williams's party. The muster-roll of those ill-fated sentinels that defended the Thermopylæ of New England for twenty-

seven hours against General Rigaud's army—a thousand against ten in the unequal contest, from 9 o'clock on the morning of August 19th, until 12 o'clock the following day—must ever stand high among the heroic names emblazoned on the pages of New England history:

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| John Hawks | Sergeant | Deerfield |
| John Norton | Chaplain | Falltown |
| John Aldrich | Sentinel | Mendon |
| Jonathan Bridgeman | " | Sunderland |
| Nathaniel Eames | " | Marlboro |
| Phineas Forbush | " | Westboro |
| Samuel Goodman | " | Hadley |
| Nathaniel Hitchcock | " | Brimfield |
| Thomas Knowlton | " | Unknown (Son of Thomas Knowlton) |
| Samuel Lovatt | " | Mendon |
| John Perry | " | Falltown |
| Amos Pratt | " | Shrewsbury |
| Josiah Reed | " | Rehoboth |
| Joseph Scott | " | Hatfield |
| Moses Scott | " | Falltown |
| Stephen Scott | " | Sunderland |
| Jacob Shepherd | " | Westboro |
| Benjamin Simonds | " | Ware River |
| John Smead, Sr. | " | Athol |
| John Smead, Jr. | " | Athol |
| Daniel Smead | " | Athol |
| David Warren | " | Marlboro |

Mary Smead, Wife of John Smead, Sr.

| | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| Elihu Smead | } | Children of John Smead, Sr. |
| Simon Smead | | |
| Mary Smead | | |
| Captivity Smead | | |
| Born after surrender of Fort, Aug. 21, 1746. | | |

Miriam Scott, Wife of Moses Scott.

| | | |
|------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Ebenezer Scott | } | Children of Moses Scott. |
| Moses Scott, Jr. | | |

Rebecca Perry, Wife of John Perry.¹

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 128.

At the time Dr. Williams's party marched to the Hoosac ford, General Rigaud's French scouts—Sieurs, Beaubassin, and La Force, together with eight Schaghticokes, lay in ambush beneath the ferns fringing the trail, less than forty rods east of Fort Massachusetts. They could have easily thrust their *longue Carabines* forward and touched the boots of the passing soldiers, so near did they lie to the path.

While the English colonists were rallying troops to lay siege against New France during the spring of 1746, the Governor-General of Canada also directed General Rigaud to rally an army of about 1200 French and Indians and seize some Dutch or English post in the Mohawks' or Hoosacs' valley during August. Rigaud's main army was composed of 740 French regulars and Canadians; and Lieutenant Demuy's detachment of 470 Indians consisted chiefly of St. Francis warriors from Becancour and St. Regis villages who challenged the headwaters of the Hoosacs' hunting-grounds. A brother of the late Cadenaret, who was slain on the bank of the upper Hoosac, June 2d, headed the motley band, including Lenapes from Detroit, Sauteurs from Mackinaw, Hurons, Pottawatamies, and seventeen fierce Mississaugers from Lake Ontario.

Demuy's detachment of savages advanced ahead as a scouting party and encamped near the junction of Poultney River with East Bay, north of the site of Whitehall. General Rigaud's detachment left Montreal on August 3d, and later encamped near the mouth of Otter Creek with Lake Champlain above Demuy's Indian encampment. At that time it was General Rigaud's intention to capture Fort Schenectady in the Mohawks' valley.

"The white cunning," wrote Cooper in his *Last of the Mohicans*, "had managed to throw the tribes into great confusion, as respects friends and enemies." The Hurons and the Mississaugers from Ontario were deadly enemies of

the Mohawks and Schaghticokes. The St. Francis war-captain foresaw, therefore, that it was necessary to hold a council of war with General Rigaud in order to keep peace among his mixed tribes. The St. Francis and St. Regis warriors were eager to avenge the death of Cadenaret and burn the English Fort Massachusetts on the upper Hoosac, instead of the Dutch forts in the Mohawk Valley of their kindred.

General Rigaud, observing the eagerness of Lieutenant Demuy's savages to devastate Hoosac Valley settlements, listened to the St. Francis war-captain, who drew upon the floor of the council room a rough map of the Valley of Mingling Waters, which he called Skatecook¹—known to the French as Kaskekouke.² He located Fort Massachusetts on the Hoosac headwaters and said: "My Father, it will be easy to take this fort, and make great havoc on the lands of the English. Deign to listen to your children and follow our advice." General Rigaud accordingly changed his plans and invaded the Hoosac Valley.

The Indians, after the council of war, performed a ceremony of absolution—*Kinte-kaye* or Devil-dance to *Hobba-mocko*, the Fiend of Calamity, while chanting Manitou's prayer of *Wappanachki*. The latter was preserved by historian Nicholas Heckewelder of New Amsterdam, and is of local interest, since Cooper in his *Last of the Mohicans* describes Uncus's chant to Manitou:

O poor me!
Who am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.

¹ See Chap. II. on Origins of Skatecook, and Note I at end of volume.

² Parkman, "Fort Massachusetts," in *Half a Century of Conflict*.



Cohoha Cornfield of Kreigger Rock neighborhood in Hoosac Pass above junction of Little Hoosac with Big Hoosac. General Rigaud's French and Indian army encamped in this intervalle before the capture of the English Fort Massachusetts on August 20, 1746. Kreigger Rock marks the Natural Dam of the glacial Lake Bascom.

The Hoosac Valley

O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And my wife!
Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt,
That I may slay my enemy,
And bring home the trophies of war
To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.

O take pity on me!
Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife!
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life,
And I will make thee a sacrifice!

The following morning General Rigaud left the younger Demuy and thirty men in command of his fleet of canoes near the site of Poultney River bridge, north of Whitehall. He marched around the base of Skene Mountain, then a portion of Wood Creek hunting-grounds of the sachem Keeperdo, known as Hoosac or Mahican Abraham, who moved to the Ohio Valley in 1730. About 1770, Keeperdo's Wood Creek Tract was deeded by his kindred, and without his consent, to the Tory, Maj. Philip Skene.

After General Rigaud's army left the Owl Kill trail at Tioshoke village, near the present site of Eagle Bridge hamlet, his troopers formed into two brigades, headed by Sieur de La Volterrie on the right bank, and by Sieur de

Sabrevois on the left bank of the Hoosac. Demuy's savages were placed on the front, rear, and flanks of both brigades. After marching fourteen miles up the valley, Rigaud's army encamped about sunset on Burns's Cohoha cornfield near the junction of Wash-Tub Brook with Hoosac River in Kreigger neighborhood, now North Pownal, Vt., fourteen miles below Fort Massachusetts.

Early Tuesday morning, August 19th, Beaubassin and La Force with their eight Schaghticoke scouts reported to General Rigaud's Kreigger Rock encampment little of importance, except the departure of Dr. Williams's party for Fort Deerfield. Only a solitary sentinel meanwhile was posted in the watch-tower, and the absolute quietude about the stricken garrison assured Rigaud that Captain Van Ness of Fort St. Croix had not sent a friendly warning to the English. At that date there was ill feeling between the Dutch and English Hoosactonians over the Twenty-Mile Line.

General Rigaud soon roused the St. Francis war-captain and addressed his warriors, saying: "My children, the time is near when we must get other meat than fresh pork, and we will eat it together." "Meat" referred to the ransom money paid them by the Governor-General of Canada for every English captive delivered at Quebec. After the two chaplains said mass for the French and the St. Francis warriors, Rigaud formed his army into two brigades and in a pouring rain marched along both banks of the river through the Pownal interval, for about ten miles, until they halted at River Bend campground in Williamstown, Mass., four miles below Fort Massachusetts. A council of war was held, and it was agreed that General Rigaud's main army should encamp in the woods west of the fort, and Lieutenant Demuy's savages on the river bank southeast of the block-house, and prepare scaling ladders and battering-rams.

About 9 o'clock Rigaud's and Demuy's detachments surrounded Fort Massachusetts. The savages and Canadians upon first beholding the watch-towers rushed forward "like lions," firing aimlessly. After the first volley from the English sharpshooters' guns, the French and Indians retired to the shelter of St. Francis Indian Ledge, sixty rods north of the fort. Sergeant Hawks, posted in the northwest watch-tower, sent a fatal ball from his Queen's Arm flint-lock flying to its mark, through the breast of the St. Francis war-captain. General Rigaud also advanced within thirty rods of the fort with his ensign to unfurl the lilied flag of France, and received a painful wound in his arm. Meanwhile John Aldrich and Jonathan Bridgeman, in the northwest watch-tower, received slight wounds in the foot and thigh from the French regulars' guns.

About 9 o'clock in the evening it became very dark and cloudy, and Chaplain Norton sent a volley of buckshot whizzing aimlessly against the howling enemy. The whole army soon appeared to surround the fort, after which they gave three successive, hideous war-whoops. A guard was later set about the blockhouse gate, and both Rigaud's and Demuy's troops retired to their camps. The savages, however, performed their *Kinte-kaye* (*Hobbamocko-dance*) until late in the night, and greatly disturbed the sleep of the garrison's sick soldiers.

At sunrise two English sharpshooters were stationed in each watch-tower, and the savages opened fire from the corn-field on the south, while the French kept up a constant fire from St. Francis Ledge on the north. Thomas Knowlton, in the northwest tower, was mortally wounded in the head about eleven o'clock. An hour later General Rigaud hoisted a flag of truce and desired to parley with Sergeant Hawks, announcing that he would set a torch to the fort if he did not surrender. He gave Hawks two hours in which to

render his decision. The siege of twenty-seven hours had exhausted the garrison's ammunition and only four pounds of powder and an equal amount of lead remained. Sergeant Hawks and Chaplain Norton, for the sake of the sick soldiers, deemed it wisest to surrender the fort.

Chaplain John Norton, who was graduated from Yale in 1737, was descended from the Norman Constable, Le Seur de Norville of the army of William the Conqueror in 1066. He said:

Had we all been in health, or had there been only those eight of us that were in health (two having been wounded), I believe every man would have willingly stood it out to the last. For my part I should; but we heard that if we were taken by violence, the sick, the wounded, and the women would most, if not all of them, die by the hands of the savages; therefore, our officer concluded to surrender on the best terms he could make.¹

General Rigaud and his officers, therefore, entered Fort Massachusetts about two o'clock, and about three o'clock the St. Francis warriors impatiently pulled down the foundation wall and crawled, one after another, into the centre of the parade. Although the French officers forbade them to molest Knowlton, who was dying in the watch-tower, they rushed forward, seized his body, and conveyed it outside the fort gate. According to Indian custom, they scalped their unconscious victim, and severed an arm and a leg to carry home as trophies of victory.

General Rigaud's ensign soon hoisted the Fleur-de-lis flag of France on the northwest watch-tower, and the Jesuit chaplain unfurled the banner of St. Croix (Holy Cross) of the Old Roman Church on the southeast watch-tower.

¹ Rev. John Norton, *Journal of Captivity*, 1748. Cited by Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 141.

Meanwhile the feeble English captives gathered up their belongings, and the blockhouse was turned over to the savages to be plundered and burned, amid wild war-whoops.

The grim shadows cast by Mount Greylock's ramparts fell sadly over the Hoosac Pass, while the clouds of smoke rising from the blazing fort ascended and received the last rosy glow of the setting sun of August 20, 1746. Nature transformed the savage scene of the St. Francis warriors of the Cross into a spectacle of glorious beauty, as the evening winds breathed over the ruins and fanned the smouldering logs, lighting them with fitful flashes of flame. Meanwhile the torch-lights in the enemies' camp indicated a general activity, posting the English captives under their special guards preparatory for their sunrise march down the Hoosac Pass. Chaplain Norton was permitted to place a Notice¹ of the surrender of Fort Massachusetts' garrison on the charred post of the well-sweep for Dr. Thomas Williams's returning party.

Rigaud, however, despatched sixty St. Francis and Schaghticoke warriors over the Hoosac Mountain trail to capture Dr. Williams's party. Not meeting them, they advanced to Fort Deerfield Meadow, where the "Bars Fight" took place, on the 28th of August. Among the slain may be mentioned Samuel Allen, Sr., Eleazer Hawks, nephew of Sergt. John Hawks, Adonijah Gillet, Constant Bliss, soldiers in Captain Holson's militia, and two children of the widow Amsdel. Samuel Allen's little son Samuel was captured, while his brother Caleb escaped. The Indians were in the act of tomahawking their sister Eunice when routed. She recovered, and according to the *Journals* of Rev. Benjamin Doolittle of Northfield and Deacon Noah Wright of Deerfield, the return captive, Samuel Allen, and his brother Caleb, and sister Eunice, all resided in Deerfield Valley in 1795.

Lieutenant Demuy and Chaplain Norton headed the

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 42-175.

English captives at dawn, August 21st, down Hoosac Road four miles, and they rested at River Bend Camp. War-whoops often reached Chaplain Norton's ears and he feared the worst, but he was full of admiration when he saw the wounded John Aldrich approaching, mounted on the back of his savage master. Benjamin Simonds and Josiah Read were dangerously ill at the time, and the latter died a few miles below in the Hoosac Pass of Pownal.

About sunset, General Rigaud's army encamped on the Van Derrick meadow, near the junction of the Little Hoosac with the Hoosac in Petersburg, New York. Mrs. John Smead, Mrs. Moses Scott, and Mrs. John Perry, and their children tarried in the rear. The gallant French officers made a seat for Mrs. Smead and bore her safely to the shelter of the Van Derrick Mansion, where about ten o'clock was born her infant daughter, christened "Captivity." The mother and child were the next morning conveyed ten miles on a cot, prepared from poles covered with bear-skins, to the Van Ness Mansion, near Fort St. Croix.

Four fleet horses were secured from the Van Ness stables by General Rigaud for his couriers to convey a message to the Governor-General, Marquis de la Galissonière, at Quebec. Other horses were caught in the pasture for Benjamin Simonds and John Aldrich to ride to East Bay, near the site of Whitehall. The captives arrived at their destination about two o'clock in the afternoon on August 26th and embarked in the canoes for Fort St. Frederic, where they tarried until September 4th. The party arrived at Three Rivers, Canada, September 13th, where General Rigaud's officers, Sergeant Hawks and Chaplain Norton, were entertained by the Governor of New France. The captives landed near the junction of the St. Lawrence with the Loretto in Quebec, September 15th, and were reviewed by the Governor-General, who assigned them to the pestiferous Battery prison-houses.

The Fort Massachusetts captives on August 20, 1746, numbered thirty souls—twenty-two men, three women, and five children. Of these, Thomas Knowlton and Josiah Read died, and "Captivity" Smead was born the next day. The twenty-nine English Hoosac captives, together with seventy-six Dutch Hoosac captives, were assigned to the prison-pens of Quebec, on September 15th. Most of them died during their sad year of captivity.

Only fourteen of the twenty-nine English unfortunates, including four children, Sergeant John Hawks, Chaplain John Norton, Stephen Scott, David Warren, John Perry, Joseph Scott, John Aldrich, Moses Scott, Benjamin Simonds, and John Smead, Sr., returned to their homes. Those captives, on July 25, 1747, were placed on board the ship, *Vierge-de-Grace* (Handsome Virgin), by the Governor of Canada, and arrived at Boston on the 16th of August. Colonel Winslow, great grandson of Gov. Edward Winslow of *Mayflower* fame, welcomed Chaplain John Norton. The returned captive hastened forward to meet his family at Fort Shirley, and arrived soon after the burial of his little daughter Anna. Her tombstone was recovered one hundred and forty years later from the neglected "God's Acre" of Fort Shirley by the late historian, Prof. Arthur Latham Perry of Williams, and is now deposited in Perry's Historical Collection at Clark Hall, in Williamstown, Mass.

During 1748, Chaplain Norton accepted the pastorate of the Old East Hampton Church in Connecticut. His tombstone in the burial-field bears the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
The Rev. John Norton
Pastor of the 3d Church in Chatham
Who died with Small Pox
March 24th A.D. 1778
In the 63d year of his Age.

Sergt. John Hawks, the "Hero of Fort Massachusetts," and Lieut. John Catlin, 2d, the builder of Fort Massachusetts, resided later in Old Deerfield. Sergeant Hawks, during February, 1748, in company with Lieut. Matthew Claesson and Sergt. John Taylor, delivered the French captive, Pierre Rambout, to the Governor-General of Canada in exchange for Samuel Allen, nephew of Sergeant Hawks, captured during the "Bars Fight" at Old Deerfield, in 1746. Sergeant Hawks's tombstone in the Old Burial-Field of Deerfield bears the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF COL. JOHN HAWKS

Who died June 24, 1784

In the 77th year of his Age.

The Fort Massachusetts carpenter, John Perry, after his return from captivity, petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature, November 5, 1747¹ for reimbursement for his log house, a mile west of the fort, burned by Rigaud's army, during the summer of 1746. He failed to receive compensation for his losses, however, and later moved to Vermont and aided in building Fort Putney, which was modelled after Fort Massachusetts. He is believed to have married an Indian squaw, and descendants of his still reside in Hoosac Pass of Pownal, Vt.

Benjamin Simonds was left ill in the Quebec Hospital at the time the Fort Massachusetts captives returned to Boston. He returned later and was the only surviving captive to settle in English Hoosac. Among the first captives to die in prison may be named: Nathaniel Eames on Nov. 17, 1746; Miriam, wife of Moses Scott, Dec. 11th; Rebecca, wife of John Perry, Dec. 23d; Moses Scott, Jr., son of Moses Scott, Sr., Feb. 11, 1747; Mary, wife of John Smead, March

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 189-190.

29th; and "Captivity," infant daughter of the Smeads, three weeks after her mother.

The record of the deaths of the Fort Massachusetts garrison soldiers and the return of the surviving redeemed captives is found in Rev. John Norton's *Journal*¹ and in Sergt. John Hawks's Report² to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1749. At the time Fort Massachusetts was burned on August 20, 1746, Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., was recruiting garrison soldiers. His muster-roll³ contains the names of the first men who served in the second Fort Massachusetts, rebuilt on the Hoosac Meadow, ten months later, on June 1, 1747.

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 179-185.

² See Note 4, at end of volume.

³ See Note 5, at end of volume.

CHAPTER VII

EPHRAIM WILLIAMS AND THE BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE 1747-1755

*The deeds he did, the fields he won,
The freedom he restored.*

SIR EDWARD SHEPHERD CREASY, *Victory of
Arminius over Varus's Roman Legions, A.D. 9.*

Fort Massachusetts Rebuilt—Col. Ephraim Williams's Will—Battle of Lake George—Death of Colonel Williams—Tomb and Monuments—General Dieskau's St. Francis Legions.

THE Williams family of Old Berkshire were of Welsh origin and were descended from Robert Williams of Norwich, England, who settled at Roxbury, Mass., in 1638. He was "the common ancestor of the divines, civilians, and warriors of this name, who have honored the country of their birth."¹

Ephraim Williams, Jr., and his brother, Thomas Williams, were sons of Ephraim Williams, Sr., and his second wife, Elizabeth Jackson Williams, and were born at Newton, March 7, 1714, and April 1, 1718, respectively. The former, during early life, visited England, Spain, and Holland, and the latter graduated from Yale in 1742 and became a surgeon in Old Deerfield. Ephraim Williams, Jr., was a large and commanding person, and he acquired a general knowledge of the world. President Fitch of Williams College in

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 215-371.

1802 wrote:¹ that "he often lamented his want of a liberal education." His obliging deportment and generosity endeared him to all classes of men, and his address procured him a greater influence at the General Court of Boston, during his command of the cordon of the border forts, than any other man perhaps enjoyed during Shirley's War in New England. He won the esteem of Governor Shirley and met at several military councils with George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and William Johnson.

It was vaguely hinted that Ephraim Williams, Jr., contemplated marriage with his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Maj. Israel Williams of Hatfield; although for unknown reasons he changed his plans before making his Will² in Albany previous to his march to Lake George in 1755.

Ephraim Williams, Jr., was thirty-three years of age at the time Fort Massachusetts was rebuilt in 1747. Governor Shirley, April 10, 1747, directed that a more commodious blockhouse be erected on the Hoosac Meadow for a garrison of thirty soldiers and extra reinforcements. Three 4-pounder guns were shipped by way of Hudson River to Van Der Heyden ferry, on the site of Troy, and mounted later upon the watch-towers of the fort.

Col. William Williams of Pittsfield, in company with Maj. Ephraim Williams, Sr., of Stockbridge, was placed in command of the carpenters, and Maj. Israel Williams, commissary-general of the cordon of border forts. Maj. Israel Williams and Col. William Williams were nephews of Col. John Stoddard, then commander of the Hampshire (Berkshire) County militia. Colonel Stoddard advised Governor Shirley to station one hundred soldiers at Fort Massachusetts. Part of the men patrolled the trails northward to

¹ President Fitch's "Sketch of Life of Col. Ephraim Williams," *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, viii.

² Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 479-483.

Lake Champlain, southward to Pontoosac, and eastward to Fort Dummer on the Connecticut.

During May, 1747, Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., joined by Maj. Israel Williams and one hundred soldiers, guarded the passage of the artillery from Van Der Heyden ferry and the supplies sent from Albany in huge Dutch vans up the Hoosac Road. All went merrily until May 25th, when the vanguards arrived at John Perry's meadow, a mile below Fort Massachusetts. Here they were attacked by a party of French and St. Francis warriors; part of the enemy engaged the fort carpenters and the guards, while the rest blocked the road in order to prevent the arrival of the Dutch vans of provision and cannon. The hot fire of the fort guards on the enemy's rear and the repulsing fire of the vanguards on the enemy's front soon drove them to the Indian Ledge, and the stores arrived safely with the loss of only one Stockbridge Indian.

The exterior of the blockhouse¹ was finished June 1, 1747, and according to historian Perry was about one hundred and twenty-five feet square. The barracks were seventy feet in length by thirty feet in width, with a seven-foot post and low roof. The house was divided into two departments, sub-divided into two rooms each with a fireplace.

Two years later, on July 23, 1748, the patrolling scout from Fort Schaghticoke was followed up to Fort Massachusetts by savages. At four o'clock on the morning of August 2d, Lieutenants Severance and Hawley² and forty soldiers laden with provisions from Fort Deerfield noted another band of warriors skulking along behind them. Sharpshooters were later posted in the watch-towers and about six o'clock the bloodhounds located an ambuscade

¹ See illustration of first Fort Massachusetts, Chapter VI., p. 129.

² Capt. Ephraim Williams's Letter to Maj. Israel Williams, Aug. 2, 1748; Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 208-209.

of Indians near the Hoosac ford. Captain Williams was preparing to send forth fifty men to rout the enemy, when a savage fired upon one of the dogs.

A party of undisciplined lads rushed outside the gate to see the sport and immediately fifteen guns were turned upon them, and Captain Williams was forced to advance with only thirty-five men in order to prevent their being scalped. A hot skirmish ensued for ten minutes and the savages retreated, only to allow an ambush of fifty warriors to rise ten rods from the fort gate. The English quickly entered the fort gate and turned the cannon and small arms upon the enemy. For an hour and three quarters by the hour-glass there were loud war-whoops, after which the Indians sullenly retreated down the valley. Two English soldiers were mortally wounded and died later. One of the cannon-balls fired upon that eventful morning was found by Capt. Clement Harrison over a century later imbedded in the roots of an upturned oak on St. Francis Ledge. It now reposes among the relics in the museum of the Fort Massachusetts Historical Society in the North Adams Public Library.

The signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 18, 1748, closed King George's War between England and France and Fort Massachusetts garrison decreased in numbers. The muster-roll¹ between December, 1747, and March, 1748, contains forty-two names under Lieutenant Hawley, and the subsequent autumn muster-roll contains the names of eighty-four soldiers, thirty of whom were dismissed later. The closing muster-roll² for December 11, 1749, contains fifty-four names under command of Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr.; and the opening muster-roll³ of 1750 for the three border forts, Massachusetts, Pelham, and Shirley enrolled only twenty-one names, proving that temporary peace reigned on the frontier.

¹ See note 6, at end of volume.

² *Ibid.*, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, note 8.



Fort Massachusetts Meadow, site of second blockhouse, with St. Francis Indian Ledge in distance.

*Once this soft turf, this rivulet's sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,*

During the early part of 1750 Captain Williams was granted a farm of two hundred acres about Fort Massachusetts, besides a valuable mill-lot near the junction of the Mayoonsac with the Ashawaghsac on the site of North Adams. Ten acres surrounding Fort Massachusetts was reserved for a garrison garden.

The muster-roll¹ closing January, 1751, contains only seventeen names under command of Captain Williams, all of whom became proprietors of house-lots in West Hoosac, now Williamstown. During the early summer of 1751, Jedidiah Hurd built Ephraim Williams's Mills on his mill-lot. At the same time a bridge was erected over the Ashawaghsac ford, connecting the grist-mill with the saw-mill; and a watch-tower forty feet high by eight feet square was built on the northwest angle of Fort Massachusetts. Captain Williams readjusted his artillery and hoisted an English flag with "halyards five yard fly." This was the first English flag unfurled in Hoosac Valley.

On August 18, 1751, Captain Williams and his garrison soldiers, Isaac Wyman, Samuel Calhoun, Ezekiel Foster, Silas Pratt, Elisha Chapin, and Dr. Seth Hudson, Gent., petitioned the General Court to enclose two and three-fourth acres of the ten acres of the garrison garden with a palisade, as Indians still hovered about the valley. A week later eight Schaghticoke chieftains called on Captain Williams at Fort Massachusetts and said:² that "the land was theirs, and the English had no business to Settle it Until such times as they had purchased of them . . . it was theirs as far South as the head of all streams that Emtied into Hoosuck River . . . and their price was £800 ye York money." Captain Williams replied that their price was too high and that the English "*now* held the land by Right of Conquest."

An English scout from Fort Dummer on August 27, 1751,

¹ See note 9, at end of volume.

² *Ibid.*, note 10.

reported that the St. Francis, Penobscot, St. Regis, and Schaghticoke kindred were on the war-path headed for English Hoosac. Col. Israel Williams directed Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., to set the proposed three thousand pickets about the garrison garden on September 1st, although the savages did not disturb the Fort.

Lieut.-Governor Phipps on September 3, 1751, reported the Schaghticokes' challenge to ownership of the headwaters of the Hoosac to the House of Representatives. On January 23, 1752, Captain Williams of Fort Massachusetts and Colonel Lydius of Albany were appointed to make an "Enquiry respecting the Indian Title" in order to ascertain whether it belonged to the Schaghticokes or to the Stockbridge chieftains. But the approach of the French and Indian War closed all negotiations of the Governor of Massachusetts with the Schaghticokes.

Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., resigned the command of the border forts and was commissioned major of the southern regiment of Hampshire militia, June 7, 1753, under Col. John Worthington of Springfield. He sold his Fort Massachusetts farm and mills to his successor, Capt. Elisha Chapin, who commanded Fort Massachusetts between June 1, 1751, and September 1, 1754.

Meanwhile, in August, 1754, Col. Ephraim Williams, Sr., died at the home of his cousin, a daughter of Col. Israel Williams, and wife of Rev. Jonathan Ashley of Old Deerfield. His gravestone is located near the tomb of Sergt. John Hawks, and the epitaph reads as follows:

IN MEMORY OF
COL^O EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, Esq.
Of Stockbridge, Who died Augst Ye
11th, 1754, In Ye 63^d Year of
His Age

Blest be that Hand Divine which laid
My Heart at rest beneath this humble shed.

Col. Israel Williams desired Maj. Ephraim Williams to take command of Fort Massachusetts in 1754, and requested Governor Shirley to retire Capt. Elisha Chapin.¹ The Governor did not wish it to appear to the world that he had offered the worthy Captain Chapin a military slight to favor the request of Col. Israel Williams, known as the Tory "Monarch of Berkshire" and desirous only of immortalizing the name of the "Williams family." Capt. Elisha Chapin was retired, and his muster-roll² of Fort Massachusetts garrison between June, 1752 and 1753 contains the names of the founders of Fort Hoosac and Williamstown.

The outbreak of the French and Indian War was followed by the St. Francis raids in Hoosac Valley during May and August, 1754. Three expeditions were planned against New France under Generals Braddock, Shirley, and Johnson. About April 10, 1755, General Shirley commissioned Maj. Ephraim Williams of Fort Massachusetts colonel of a regiment, and he rallied his volunteer troops mainly from Massachusetts border forts. The last muster-roll³ of Fort Massachusetts, under command of Ephraim Williams, bears date between September 1, 1754, and March, 1755, sworn to previous to his march with his regiment from Boston, June 13, 1755, to Greenbush encampment. The muster-roll⁴ under Lieut. Isaac Wyman, was dated in July, 1755.

Col. Ephraim Williams marched his troops over the "Old Albany Road," built in 1735 by the English missionaries between Barrington and North Egremont to Greenbush, N. Y., and encamped on the site of the subsequent "Mount Madison Cantonments" of Revolutionary days.

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 250-255.

² See note 11, at end of volume.

³ *Ibid.*, note 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, note 13.

Saturday, previous to July 8, 1755, Colonel Williams was quartered with Capt. Smith Ayers, General Braddock's engineer. Ayers's grandson, Thomas Ayers, resided on a farm in New Lebanon, N. Y., at the opening of 1800 and married a granddaughter of Patroon Hendrick Schneider of "Schneider Patent" in Dutch Hoosac. Captain Ayers and Colonel Williams were placed in command of building a fleet of boats to convey provisions up the Hudson. General Johnson later designated Colonel Williams's regiment to build military roads and forts between Fort Albany and Lake St. Sacrament.

Supplies were short at Colonel Williams's Greenbush camp. In a letter to Col. Israel Williams, dated July 15, 1755, he stated that many of his men were ill for want of proper food. At the same time General Johnson's officers were greatly depressed by the report of Braddock's death on July 9th. A military jealousy existed between Generals Shirley, Johnson, and Washington. The last two mentioned were both gallant youths of twenty-two, while General Shirley was their elder and was appointed major-general of the army.

Col. Ephraim Williams visited a lawyer in Albany and drew up his last Will¹ on July 22, 1755. He sent it with a letter of advice to his cousin, Col. Israel Williams, at Hatfield. The will contained a clause to provide for the founding of a free school in East Hoosac, now North Adams, and West Hoosac, now Williamstown, for the children of Fort Massachusetts garrison soldiers.

Early on August 2d, Colonel Williams and his troops were ordered to march up the Hudson to Fort Lyman, christened in honor of its builder, Colonel Lyman. General Johnson promptly rechristened the post, Fort Edward, after King George's grandson. This slight to his First Lieutenant roused the enmity of the New England soldiers. In order to

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 479-483.

patch up the slight, the gallant Irish General rechristened Lake St. Sacrament, Lake George; and after the English fort was built, during the autumn, at the head of Lake George, he designated it Fort William Henry in honor of King George's brother. Later Gen. William Johnson was burdened with the title of baronet, and Parliament voted him £5000 for his services for christening, rather than for *building*, forts.

Owing to a coolness arising between General Johnson and Lieut.-Colonel Lyman, Col. Ephraim Williams was appointed to lead the New England troops against Dieskau's St. Francis Legions of Canada. The regiment of four hundred men and thirty officers comprised ten companies, which were headed by Colonel Williams, Lieut.-Colonel Pomeroy, Major Ashley, and Captains House, Burt, Hawley, Porter, Ingersoll, Hitchcock, and Doolittle.

Colonel Williams's men were delayed two weeks at Fort Edward before General Johnson's Mohawk scout returned from Canada. He reported that General Dieskau was on the march with eight thousand French and St. Francis warriors headed for Fort St. Frederic. A council of war was called, August 22d, after which reinforcements were requested from the colonies.

On August 23, 1755, Colonel Williams wrote from Fort Edward his last letter which was addressed to Col. Israel Williams, in which he said: "Not less than ten or twelve thousand men are needed to reduce Crown Point." At that time Johnson's army did not exceed three thousand men, including the New Hampshire troops, and Colonel Williams exclaimed:

Therefore suffer me once for all to beg of you to exert yourself for your country—it's upon the brink of ruin. It's who shall remember Sr what King William said, when

the case of the Dutch was pretty much the same, with our's—I pray God unite your Councils, and show the world you are true patriots of your Country, and give to us to behave as becomes Englishmen.¹

Three days later General Johnson broke up his Fort Edward encampment and on August 26th marched to the head of Lake George. He left Col. Joshua Blanchard with Captains McGinnis and Folsom, and their five hundred New Hampshire troops, to defend Fort Edward. Meanwhile General Dieskau and his legions arrived at Fort St. Frederic. He sent out scouts to locate Johnson's army and followed with a scouting brigade of 3500 French regulars, Canadians, and St. Francis and Abnauquis warriors, intending to seize Fort Edward. He captured the American wagoner, Adams, who was on his way to warn Colonel Blanchard of the enemy's advance. He learned that Johnson's main army lay encamped at head of Lake George and called a council of war; his Indians refused to face the mounted cannon of Fort Edward, but were eager to attack the English about Lake George.

At midnight, Sunday, September 7, 1755, Johnson's wagoner brought news also of French and Indians marching toward Fort Edward. He called a council of war, at which it was planned to send two detachments of five hundred troops each to overtake the enemy in their retreat from Fort Edward. King Hendrick of the Mohawks at that time was over eighty years old, and he significantly took up a stick and easily broke it in two. He then put several sticks together which he could not break. He shook his head and in his broken English said: "If they are to be killed, too many; if they are to fight, too few." General Johnson thus joined both detachments in one body commanded by

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 337-338.

Colonel Williams, King Hendrick's two hundred Mohawks being placed in front to act as scouting party.

Monday, September 8, 1755, about eight o'clock, Colonel Williams began his march down the Fort Edward Road. After advancing two miles the cowardly Mohawks fell to the rear, and Colonel Williams halted his army while they marched to the front ranks. General Dieskau, meanwhile, had no intention of retreating from Fort Edward and he planned to surprise Colonel Williams as General Braddock had been outwitted on the banks of the Monongahela in Ohio Valley. He placed his warriors on three sides of the deep ravines of the Old Military Road, so as to form a "Hook"¹ or letter "U," and awaited the arrival of Colonel Williams's troopers.

At half-past ten o'clock the Mohawks had wholly marched within the trap and were quickly followed by Colonel Williams and King Hendrick. The latter, mounted on Johnson's Narragansett pony owing to his age, rode abreast of Colonel Williams. He exclaimed: "I smell Indians!" At that instant a St. Francis warrior asked him: "Whence come you?" To which Hendrick replied: "From the Mohawks. Whence come you?" He replied: "From Montreal." At that instant a report of a *longue Carabine* warned their kindred Mohawk and Schaghticoke scouts, but too late. A terrible war-whoop rang through the forests and this was answered by the French and Canadian rifles. The Mohawks fell on all sides and King Hendrick was bayoneted.

Colonel Williams ordered his men to ascend a hill on the right, when a volley from its western slope sent a fatal ball through his head, and he fell to rise no more. Confusion reigned until Lieut.-Colonel Whiting rallied Williams's scattered men, while the French regulars pursued them to

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, illustration, p. 349.

the shore of a small pond two miles south of the English encampment. Johnson overheard the raging battle and ordered Lieut.-Colonel Cole with three hundred men to reinforce Colonel Whiting's men. General Dieskau's men were an hour and a half driving them into Johnson's camp.

The hot fire of Johnson's cannon was turned upon the French regulars for an hour before they were repulsed. General Dieskau later recorded that: "The English, in ye morning, fought like good boys, at noon like men, but in the afternoon like the Devil." Johnson's cannonading, notwithstanding that the wind blew from the south, was overheard in Old Saratoga. General Johnson received a painful wound in his thigh, after which the command of the whole army fell to his slighted Lieut.-Colonel Lyman, who, although in the heat and fury of that terrible day, escaped without a scratch.

General Dieskau, twice wounded, ordered his adjutant to abandon him and lead his men forward in one last attack against the English. It was too late, and one by one the English wagoners and camp followers leaped over the parapet of the French earthworks and plundered the dead and captured the weapons of the wounded and dying. Thus closed the Noon-day Scout.

As Dieskau's Canadian Legions retreated from the shores of Lake George, they met the grandsons of Kryn's Caughnawagas and Râle's St. Francis warriors, who deserted Dieskau during the "Early Morning Scout." They fled before the hot fire of Captains McGinnis's and Folsom's three hundred New Hampshire Scotch-Irish and Dutch lads, who had overheard a "Noise of a Multitude of Guns" at Fort Edward. They arrived on the battle-field in time to close the Sunset Scout and help win the victory. While McGinnis was giving final orders to his men, he was mortally wounded, although he realized it not, and fell fainting to the ground.

An exultant shout of victory of the English rang through the moaning ravines about five o'clock in the afternoon, as the long shadows reflected the forests in the clear depths of the old Horicon's lake, while the shores of the little pond two miles south lay thickly strewn with the dead and dying enemy. The Roman Legions of New France, recorded Dr. Thomas Williams in a letter to his wife at Old Deerfield, dated September 11, 1755, "Were smartly paid, for they left their garments and weapons of war for miles together, after their brush with the Hampshire troops, like the Assyrians in their flight."

Lieut-Col. Seth Pomeroy reported that he was the only surviving field-officer of Col. Ephraim Williams's regiment. He prepared "forty biers made of cross-poles" to collect the dead upon, and sent troops for miles about the ravines to gather the English, French, and Indian victims. Hundreds of the enemy slain on the shores of the little pond south of Lake George were thrown in the shallow waters, which reflected the stain of a nation's blood. The lakelet is to-day known as "Bloody Pond."

The body of Colonel Williams was found on the rocky eminence where he met death, west of the Old Military Road. His brother, Dr. Thomas Williams, recovered his "French firearms, case of pistols, sword and watch," after which he was buried beneath a large pine tree near where he fell. His French firearms were willed to Col. John Worthington—"in case the French do not get them," but his body had not been plundered by the enemy. His watch and sword, together with the sword of Dr. Thomas Williams, descended to Capt. Ephraim Williams, U. S. A., and Bishop John Williams of Connecticut, great-great-grandsons of Dr. Thomas Williams of Old Deerfield. During the centennial of the Battle of Lake George, September 8, 1855, the relics were presented to Williams College.¹

¹ Perry's Historical Collection, Clark Hall.

The rock upon which Colonel Williams fell remained a shrine where patriotic soldiers continued to step aside from the Old Military Road and cast stones until long after the close of the War of 1812. The Alumni of Williams College



Col. Ephraim Williams's Sword and Watch recovered from his body after his fall in the Early Morning Scout of the Battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755.

*Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand thy standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave.*

BRYANT, *The Battle-Field.*

on September 8, 1855, erected a monument on this traditional rock.

One of the pioneer settlers on the shores of Lake George, located Colonel Williams's grave, and, during 1837, Dr. W. S. Williams, a grandson of Dr. Thomas Williams of North Carolina, recovered his granduncle's skull, containing the fatal ball of 1755. Edward Weeks Baldero Channing, chairman of the Alumni Committee of Williams College, later marked the site of Colonel Williams's grave with a



Monument marking the Rocky Hill near where Col. Ephraim Williams fell in the Battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755. Monument erected by Alumni of Williams College, September 8, 1855.

huge boulder, upon which are chiselled his initials, "E. W." In 1880 David Dudley Field, an alumnus of Williams College, engaged Arthur Latham Perry to purchase the site of Colonel Williams's grave, in the name of the President and Trustees of Williams College, after which Robert R. Clark of Williamstown enclosed the plot with an iron fence.

Historian Perry wrote that Colonel Williams's fame will outlast that of the famous General, Baron Dieskau, since, on his march to the battle-field upon which he fell, he "turned aside to do a conscious act of lasting benefit to those then unborn," and marched forward to seal the contract with his own blood.

General Dieskau in a letter to M. de Vaudreuil of Canada, dated at the English Camp, at Lake St. Sacrament, September 15, 1755, said that he attributed his defeat to the "scurvey treachery" of the St. François or Caughnawaga Indians of the St. Lawrence, and the St. Francis or Abnauquis warriors of the St. Francis missions under the Jesuits. He set sail for England in the spring of 1757, and three years later met Diderot in Paris. He died in 1762. In Diderot's *Mémoires*, published in 1830, he related several conversations held with Baron Dieskau relating to the Battle of Lake George. The French documents also record the battles fought by Lieut.-Colonel Dieskau under Gen. Marshall Saxe during the War of Flanders and are published in *Elysian Fields*.¹ Those records also describe the military plans of Dieskau in the "Bloody Morning Scout" at Lake George.

Hotel William Henry at Lake George, erected in 1885, stands on the site of Fort William Henry, built during the autumn of 1755. The present railroad, constructed in 1880, crosses the site of Johnson's encampment.

A bronze statue of Col. Ephraim Williams, the hero of Lake George, should be erected on the conical summit of Mount Williams,—the northern abutment of the ramparts of Greylock Park Reservation of Massachusetts, in memory of the New Englander who laid down his life to found the Anglo-American's freedom of Church and State.

Distance alone proves great men great.

¹ *Doc. Hist., N. Y., X., pp. 340-343.*

CHAPTER VIII

FORT HOOSAC PROPRIETY AND WILLIAMSTOWN

1749-1815

. . . *Away to the woodland scene,
Where wanders the stream with waters of green,
As if the bright fringe of herbs on its brink
Had given their stain to the waves they drink;
And they, whose meadows it murmurs through,
Have named the stream from its own fair hue.*

BRYANT, *Green River.*

Survey 1749—Indian Ambuscades—French and Indian War, 1754-1763—
Fort Hoosac, 1756—Taverns—Mills—Schools—Congregational and
Baptist Churches—The Square—White Oaks—Kreigger Mills—South
Village—First Town-Meeting—Incorporation of Williamstown, 1765—
Militia—Revolutionary War until the War of 1812—Burial-Fields.

LITTLE is known of West Hoosac propriety between its survey in 1749 and the completion of Fort Hoosac near The Square on March 22, 1756. It became the frontier settlement of Massachusetts, however, during the French and Indian War and remained so until the incorporation of Williamstown in 1765.

The General Court on April 18, 1749, commissioned Colonels Partridge, Dwight, and Choate and the surveyor, Nathaniel Dwight, to "repair to the Province Lands near Hoosuck" and survey two towns six miles square, incorporated to-day in Williamstown, Adams, and North Adams. The chairman, Col. Oliver Partridge, reported November 10th, that his junketing party arrived at Fort Massachusetts, October 27, 1749. Surveyor Dwight first measured the distance from the fort north to the "White Oak Tree marked

M. C. I. T.," on Hazen's Massachusetts boundary, twenty-four miles east of Hudson River.

The northwest corner of Williamstown was thus established four miles west of Hazen's marked white oak tree, about a mile east of the summit of Mount Belcher of the Taconac Range in Moon Hollow. The western line extended southward along the Taconacs to a point west of Mount Stratton; thence southeasterly over the south brow of Stratton to a point southwest of the tower on Mount Greylock; thence northeasterly eight and one-fourth miles, a few rods west of Greylock tower and Mount Fitch, obliquely over the shoulder of Wilbur Park down through the centre of Blackington Mills; thence half way up Alberta's Range, known as East Mountain, to Hazen's Line on Mount Hazen; thence westerly to the marked white oak tree. These lines enclosed nearly 30,000 acres of lowland and mountain summits.

Lieut.-Governor Phipps on January 17, 1750, commissioned James Minot, Col. Samuel Miller, and Capt. Samuel Livermore to survey sixty-three house-lots in West Hoosac village plot, not to exceed twelve acres each. Main Street was laid out fifteen rods wide and extended from the site of Green River Bridge westward one and a third mile over four eminences, rising a hundred feet above Hoosac River to Buxton Brook. The Square, located on the third hill, is formed by the junction of North and South streets, six rods wide, bisecting Main Street. The Plan forms a perfect Greek Cross and the four hills of the village are encircled by Buxton and Hemlock brooks, and Green and Hoosac rivers. The Plan was accepted by the General Court, April 6, 1750, and the lots advertised for sale about Boston, Hartford, Litchfield, and Canaan centres.

Three of the best lots facing The Square were reserved for the support of the first minister, church, and school and

the remaining sixty were sold for £6 each, drawn by chance. Each buyer was entitled to one sixty-third part of the whole town, divided later by eight general divisions. According

Original Drawings of House-lots

| | | |
|------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| Buxton Brook | | 34 John Moffat, Boston |
| | | 32 Elisha Williams Jr. Weatherfield |
| | | 30 Thomas Train, Fort Mass. |
| | | 28 Isaac Wyman, Fort Mass. |
| Fourth Hill | | 26 Josiah Dean, Canaan, Ct. |
| | | 24 Wm. Chidester, Fort Mass. |
| | | 22 Benj. Simonds, Fort Mass. |
| | | 20 Aeneas Mackey, Unknown |
| | | 18 Joel Dickenson, Hatfield |
| | | 16 Josiah Williams, Stockbridge |
| | | 14 Abner Roberts, Fort Mass. |
| Hemlock Brook | | 12 Saml. Wells, Hatfield |
| Bridge | | 10 Ephm. Williams Jr. Fort Mass. |
| | | 8 Ephm. Williams Jr. Fort Mass. |
| | | 6 Wm. Chidester, Fort Mass. |
| | | 4 Oliver Partridge, Hatfield |
| | | 2 Isaac Wyman, Fort Mass. |
| Third Hill | | |
| South Street | | North Street |
| 6 rods wide | | 6 rods wide |
| Stone Hill | THE SQUARE | Johnson Hill |
| School | | 36 Minsters |
| Fort Mass, Saml. Calhoun | | 38 Ministry |
| Stockbridge, Saml. Brown | | 40 Elisha Hawley, Northampton |
| Fort Mass, Elisha Chapin | | 42 John Bush, Fort Mass. |
| Unknown, Elijah Brown | | 44 Josiah Dean, Canaan, Ct. |
| Hatfield, Obadiah Dickinson | | 46 John Moffat, Boston |
| Northampton, Joseph Hawley | | 48 Moses Graves, Hatfield |
| Coleraine, Dainel Hawes | | 50 Samuel Taylor, Charlemont |
| Hatfield, Elisha Allis | | 52 Saml. Smith, Coleraine |
| North Reading, Ebenr. Graves | | 54 Saml. Brown, Stockbridge |
| Charlemont, Olivur Avery | | 56 Ebenr. Graves, North Reading |
| Green River | | 58 Saml. Brown, Stockbridge |
| | | 59 John Crawford, Worcester |
| Coleraine | | 60 Aaron Denio, Coleraine |
| | | 61 Obadiah Dickinson, Hatfield |
| | | 62 Aeneas Mackey, Unknown |
| | | 63 Danl. Donnillson, Coleraine |
| Main Street | | |
| 15 rods wide | | |
| Green River | | |
| Bridge | | |

to the regulations, each proprietor was required to build a dwelling eighteen by fifteen feet with seven foot stud; clear, plough, and sow five acres of his house-lot with English grass or corn within two years after purchase. He further agreed to aid in building a meeting-house and in locating a learned orthodox preacher on the minister's lot within five years, and gave his bond for £50 to the Province treasurer for the fulfilment of his duty.



*The Green River Valley,
known to the Indians as
Wampanicksepoet or
Wampanasac—Vale of
Wampum or Money.*

Owing to the Indian ambuscades and the approach of the French and Indian War, lots sold slowly. At the opening of 1751, however, the General Court granted Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., a farm in East Hoosac about Fort Massachusetts. He built a saw-mill and grist-mill on the site of North Adams for the service of English Hoosac settlers, and in order to encourage buyers, drew lots eight and ten in West Hoosac. Thirteen of his garrison soldiers also drew one lot each, and Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield induced eleven of his neighbors, including Rev. Timothy Woodbridge and Col. Oliver Partridge, to draw one lot each, and the sale of sixty house-lots to forty-six buyers closed in September, 1752.

Meanwhile Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., resigned the command of Fort Massachusetts and sold his Fort Farm and mills to Capt. Elisha Chapin and Moses Graves. Six of the thirteen original settlers of West Hoosac included Lieut. Isaac Wyman of Fort Massachusetts, Dr. Seth Hudson, Gent., Benjamin Simonds, Thomas Train, Ezekiel Foster, and Ebenezer Graves who built their regulation houses between September, 1752 and September, 1753. Seven others, including Elisha Higgins, Silas Pratt, Allan and Elihu Curtiss, Gideon Warren, Darius Mead, and Tyras Pratt, meanwhile cleared their lots, before September 10, 1753. On that date Governor Shirley directed Col. William Williams, Justice of the Peace of Pittsfield, to order Lieutenant Wyman of Fort Massachusetts to "Notifye and warne" the first meeting of West Hoosac proprietors to meet at Dr. Seth Hudson's house, Wednesday forenoon, December 5, 1753. Capt. Allan Curtiss was chosen moderator; Isaac Wyman, clerk and treasurer; Jonathan Meacham, Samuel Taylor, and Josiah Dean, surveyors of highways and the first division of fifty-acre meadow lots. Samuel Taylor later owned the mill-lot at Taylor's Crotch, near the junction of Hopper Brook with Green River. The historic Hudson house in

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which the first proprietors of West Hoosac met, still stands half a mile below its original site on the west bank of Hemlock Brook in Charityville. Dr. Hudson founded Pownal propriety in 1760 and practised veterinary surgery. He died in a house on the site of the John M. Cole Mansion in Williamstown.

The second meeting of the proprietors was held at Capt. Allan Curtiss's house, Thursday forenoon, April 18, 1754. Captain Curtiss was chosen moderator; David King, surveyor and path-master of the meadow lots and roads of first division. Oliver Avery and John Crawford were appointed to clear a burial-field of half an acre located on the northeast corner of lot two on Johnson Hill, near the site of Jerome's Mansion. Several of the original Massachusetts buyers of house-lots sold their rights to Connecticut men upon the approach of hostilities. A third meeting of the proprietors took place at Captain Curtiss's house, May 15, 1754, at which the fifty-acre meadow lots were drawn, and Captain Curtiss was appointed to clear North Street a rod wide from The Square over Johnson Hill to Hampshire Line. This was the last meeting until after the Fall of Quebec.

Two weeks after the third meeting of the West Hoosac proprietors, the French and Indian War was formally announced on May 28th by a party of French and Indians marching through Dutch Hoesac. A party of St. Francis warriors followed up the Green River trail to surprise the Stockbridge settlers. Two Fort Massachusetts scouts spied the Indians as far as Lanesboro. While in the act of tying their moccasins near a spring, two chieftains were slain by the scouts. A party of English and Dutch set out later and found the sachems buried in full war costume, and recovered their valuable scalps.

Dutch Hoesac and the Kreigger hamlets between Petersburg Junction and Pownal went up in flames. The six

dwelling of the English at West Hoosac and the mounted cannon of Fort Massachusetts were not molested. On August 28, 1754, the final massacre of Dutch Hoosac took place and every vestige of settlement was burned.

Ephraim Williams was re-appointed commander of the Massachusetts border forts on September 1, 1754, and Capt. Elisha Chapin and Moses Graves abandoned the Fort Farm and mills and settled on their West Hoosac house-lots. Lieut. Isaac Wyman remained in command of Fort Massachusetts until Col. Ephraim Williams's death, when he was appointed captain until the fort was abandoned in November, 1761.

Eleven of the Connecticut proprietors of West Hoosac petitioned the General Court, October 17, 1754, to build them a stockade fort as a refuge during the perils of the French and Indian War. Col. Israel Williams directed them, however, to move their families to Fort Massachusetts until the close of the campaign of 1755, although they continued to clear their land in West Hoosac. On January 18, 1756, William Chidester informed Lieut.-Governor Phipps that his and five other Connecticut families were the only settlers between Fort Massachusetts and Fort Schaghticoke. He made it evident that they were in danger of being murdered by the French and Indians. Benjamin Simonds, Dr. Seth Hudson, Gent., Jabez Warren, Nehemiah Smedley, Josiah and William Horsford aided Chidester, and the fort was completed, March 22, 1756, twenty-eight rods west of the east line of the Kappa Alpha Society House, on lot six, adjoining lot four, upon which Proctor's Mansion now stands. Ten soldiers were placed in command under Sergt. Samuel Taylor, until succeeded in April by Sergeant Chidester.

The fifteen Massachusetts proprietors of West Hoosac, headed by Thomas Train, who had been presented with Col. Oliver Partridge's lot four, petitioned Lieut.-Governor

Phipps, May 27, 1756, to build a commodious blockhouse eighty feet square on The Square. They agreed to donate £35 toward its construction, and suggested that it be named Fort Phipps.¹

Meanwhile part of the walls of Fort Massachusetts tumbled down. Although repaired by Captain Wyman, it was expected that the blockhouse would have to be rebuilt from its foundation, or that a commodious fort would be constructed in West Hoosac. Sergeant Chidester and his Connecticut neighbors of West Hoosac also petitioned the General Court to build the new blockhouse on The Square.

Col. Israel Williams and Capt. Isaac Wyman, however, fought against the proposed fort at West Hoosac. The latter refused to part with any of his cannon, although he had no use for them in the unsettled portion of Hoosac Pass. As a result, thirty of the forty soldiers of English Hoosac remained at Fort Massachusetts as did all the artillery, including three 4-pounder cannon, one field-piece, two swivel guns, and two cohorn mortars.

During the summer, Indians constantly lurked about Fort Hoosac, knowing the garrison was ill equipped with guns. On June 7th, the scouts—Benjamin King and William Meacham—were killed a mile west of Fort Massachusetts, near the John Perry cornfield. General Winslow on June 15th sent Major Thaxter and one hundred and sixty men to patrol the trail from Fort Half-Moon to Fort Massachusetts. On June 26th, Lieutenant Grout and fourteen scouts, while near Cohoha cornfield, opposite Kreigger Rocks, in Pownal, were attacked by a party of two hundred French and Indians; eight were slain and five made prisoners—only one Schaghticoke scout escaping to carry the news to Fort Massachusetts. Captain Wyman sent Ensign Barnard and two scouts to bury the dead, June 27th. They, however,

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 408.

located an ambushade of warriors by the crackling of sticks and were forced to depart. Later, on July 5th, Captain Butterfield and one hundred and forty men from Fort Half-Moon buried the dead.

Fort Hoosac was attacked, July 11th, by about one hundred French and Indians who crept up Hemlock Brook. They lay in ambushade until Sergeant Chidester and his son, James, in company with Capt. Elisha Chapin, started out, armed with their guns, to milk their cows. Both the Chidesters were slain, and Captain Chapin was mortally wounded and later scalped. During the twilight the savages surrounded Fort Hoosac, but were repulsed. They then sought the pastures and slaughtered the settlers' cows and oxen. Captain Wyman on July 13th sent Ensign Barnard and thirteen soldiers over to West Hoosac to bury the dead in Johnson Hill cemetery. Dr. Seth Hudson, Gent., became Commander of Fort Hoosac and twenty-one of the proprietors on January 11, 1757, revolted against Captain Wyman's niggardly methods of doling out supplies.

Lieut.-Governor Phipps in May, 1757, commissioned Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Livermore, and Moses Marcy to visit West Hoosac and hear the complaints of the proprietors. They reported in June that Fort Massachusetts was from the first poorly located for frontier defence and not worth repairing. Captain Wyman, after a trial, was pardoned for his conduct toward Sergeant Chidester, Captain Chapin, and Dr. Seth Hudson.

The first proprietors' meeting after the Fall of Quebec took place at Fort Hoosac, September 17, 1760. William Horsford was chosen clerk and Capt. Isaac Wyman resigned. The latter sold his house and lot opposite the site of Hotel Greylock to Benjamin Kellogg for £140 and at once removed from Fort Massachusetts to Keene, N. H. Four proprietor meetings were held at Fort Hoosac, however, before it was

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abandoned in September 1761. The first children born in West Hoosac were: Rachel Simonds on April 8, 1753; Elias Taylor, son of Sergt. Samuel Taylor, on June 27, 1756; and William Pratt, son of Silas Pratt, in January, 1760.

Berkshire County was incorporated in 1761 and in March, 1762, the West Hoosac proprietors met at Josiah Horsford's house, and it was voted to repair South Street, leading from The Square over Stone Hill to New Framingham, now Lanesboro. The latter town was first known as Richfield and was settled by men from Framingham, England, in 1742. In 1765, Gov. Francis Bernard, incorporated the town, Lanesboro, in honor of the wife of the Earl of Lanesboro. Tory Collins, of the Episcopal Church, was the first minister of the town. Later several Baptists and Quakers settled in both Lanesboro and New Ashford.

Most of the West Hoosac settlers hailed from Colchester, Litchfield, Canaan, New Milford, New Haven, and Hartford, Conn. Four districts of out-lots were thrown open to settlers in 1760. Benjamin Simonds ran the first inn west of The Square, and Stephen Horsford later built the Red Tavern and store east of The Square. Isaac Stratton opened the first inn in South Village and this was owned later by the blacksmith, Samuel Sloan. Benjamin Simonds about 1765 built River Bend Tavern a mile north of The Square in White Oaks, known to-day as the Charles Prindle Place.

The pine and white oak lots, drawn in the fifth and sixth divisions of the township, lay north of Hoosac River. Eight pine lots were located in the north angle formed by Broad Brook and the Hoosac. The white oak lay in the northeast corner of the town on Oak Hill at the base of Mount Hazen.

The first grist-mill and saw-mill were built in 1761 by

Titus Harrison from Litchfield on the Gideon Warren and Samuel Payne mill-lot on the lower falls of Green River. The gangway was located on "Pork Lane," known as Bingham Street to-day.

During July, 1763, John Smedley was granted privilege



The River Bend Tavern built by Benjamin Simonds on north bank of Hoosac River in White Oaks neighborhood about 1765. Simonds's Tavern occupied the site of the Hoosacs' and Mohawks' favorite River Bend camp along the ancient war-trail leading through a pine grove in the region, between 1609 and 1765.

to "Set up a saw-mill" at the junction of Broad Brook with the Hoosac, about half a mile north of River Bend Tavern, near the highway. Smedley purchased pine lots seven and eight, and parts of five mixed pine and oak lots. The cellar hole and remnants of the orchard may still be seen west of the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks—the point where the Hoosac bends northeast to the highway.

The third mill-lot at "Taylor's Crotch" was owned by

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Sergt. Samuel Taylor near the junction of Hopper Brook with Green River, two miles south of Harrison's Mills. After Sergeant Taylor moved from the valley, Asa Douglass of Hancock, the father-in-law of Samuel Sloan, purchased an interest in his mill-lot. On October 15, 1767, the proprietors voted to grant William, John, and Peter Kreigger of Kreigger Rock Mill in Pownal, liberty to "Sett up" a corn-mill and saw-mill at "Taylor's Crotch" before August 1st of the following year.

The first log schoolhouse was built on the site of Hotel Greylock, facing The Square, in 1763, and it was also used as a meeting-house and town hall until the First Congregational Church was built on the site of Field's Park five years later. Among the original homesteads still standing in the town may be mentioned the house of the German, Jacob Meack, the first doctor of the village, near Hemlock Brook Bridge. Deacon Richard Stratton, a member of the "Warren Baptist Society," built the first two-story framed house, known as the Col. William Waterman homestead, on lot fifty-eight. Daniel Day from Litchfield built his mansion, now converted into the Greek Letter Society House, on the corner of Main and Southwick streets, known also as the Dewey homestead. The five Smedley and four Horsford brothers from Litchfield also built several mansions between The Square and Capt. Nehemiah Smedley's Green River homestead at foot of Main Street. Samuel Kellogg from Canaan Centre first settled on Capt. Isaac Wyman's lot, opposite Hotel Greylock on The Square, and later located on the poplar tree farm, east of Captain Smedley's Green River homestead. Samuel Kellogg was a son of Benjamin Kellogg, a lineal descendant of Joseph Kellogg of Old Hadley, who in 1660 concealed the English regicides. Elisha Baker from Woodbury, Conn., a maternal uncle of Remember Baker and Ethan Allen, settled on a farm

east of Samuel Kellogg's farm near Baker Bridge. Isaac Stratton, son of Richard Stratton, was the first settler in the South Village at the base of Mount Stratton, and was followed by Daniel Burbank and the blacksmith, Samuel Sloan.

At a proprietors' meeting held May 21, 1765, Benjamin Simonds was appointed to get a copy of Ephraim Williams's Will, and Samuel Kellogg to engage the first minister. The first town-meeting was held July 15, 1765, and West Hoosac was incorporated as Williamstown, in compliance with Ephraim Williams's Will.¹ At that time twenty-eight homesteaders occupied village house-lots and twenty-six others resided on out-lots. About five hundred and seventy-eight acres of land had been cleared and the proprietors' stock included fifty-seven yoke of oxen, eighty-three sheep, and twenty cows. The fifty-four original founders of Williamstown included the following names:

VILLAGE LOTS

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Nehemiah Smedley | Benjamin Simonds |
| Mrs. David Roberts | Richard Stratton |
| Benjamin Cowles | Ephraim Seelye |
| Josiah Horsford | Samuel Payne |
| Thomas Dunton | Samuel Kellogg |
| William Horsford | Asa Johnson |
| Elisha Higgins | William Wells |
| Eli Cowles | Samuel Smedley |
| John Smedley | Jonathan Kilborn |
| Titus Harrison | Daniel Stratton |
| Jonathan Meacham | Jedidiah Smedley |
| Ichabod Southwick | Isaac Wyman |
| Derick Webb | Stephen Davis |
| Elkanah Parris | Ebenezer Stratton |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 479-483.



The Hopper Brook near its confluence with Green River, at the western base of Greylock Range. Near the junction of these streams the Kreigger Brothers from Kreigger Rock neighborhood, in Pownal Pass, erected their famous

OUT-LOTS

James Meacham
 John Newbre
 Samuel Taylor
 Isaac Searle
 Samuel Clarke
 Josiah Wright
 Robert McMaster
 James Kellogg
 Gideon Warren
 Joseph Tallmadge
 Nathan Wheeler
 Daniel Burbank
 Elisha Baker

Dr. Seth Hudson
 Bartholomew Woodcock
 Jesse Southwick
 John Horsford
 Joseph Ballard
 Samuel Sloan
 Isaac Stratton
 Moses Rich
 John McMaster
 David Johnson
 Thomas Roe
 Thomas Train
 Ebenezer Cooley

Eight months later, on March 17, 1766, it was voted to raise £3 on each of the original sixty house-lots to aid in building a meeting-house; and Nehemiah Smedley, Samuel Sandford, and Richard Stratton were directed to build on The Square the First Church of Christ. It was to be without a belfry, and its dimensions were to be thirty by forty feet. The door faced east and the building was dimly lighted by small windows. No chimney was built, and each family took their foot stoves to keep warm during the winter services. The main aisle led west from the door to the pulpit and the pews faced the aisle. A more commodious church with a steeple was built in 1798.

The first minister, the Rev. Whitman Welch,¹ was a graduate of Yale in the year 1762. He arrived at Williamstown in 1765 and soon after married Deacon Gaylord's daughter, Marvin, of New Milford, Conn. He was a short, blond man, sociable and highly patriotic. He advocated the Arminian System taught by Rev. Naphtalia Daggett, Professor of

¹ Prof. Ebenezer Kellogg, *Field's History of Berkshire County*, 1829.

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Divinity at Yale, 1755-1777, and delivered his written sermons in an orthodox manner. During 1792, Deacon Richard Stratton, Matthew Dunning, Isaac Holmes, and fourteen other members of the "Warren Society" also founded the First Baptist Chapel and built it of quartzite stone at Kreigger Mills, now known as Sweet's Corners.

All the main roads from Deerfield, Pittsfield, and New Lebanon converge in one road at the Vermont State Line. Several historic inns were centered between Benjamin Simonds's River Bend Tavern of Williamstown and Charles Wright's Tavern, in



The Second Congregational Church of Christ built on The Square in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1798. It occupied the site of the First Congregational Church completed in 1768, now the site of Field's Park at the junction of North and South Streets with Main Street.

Pownal. Simonds's Inn still stands in excellent preservation north of Moody Bridge on the bank of Hoosac; Silas Stone's White Oaks Tavern near Broad Brook Bridge, originally surrounded by white oak trees, is still standing in a deplorable condition as a tenement, known as Stone Tavern. John Smedley's Sand Spring Inn was replaced by Greylock Hall on the present site of Dr. S. Louis Lloyd's Sand Spring Sanitarium; frequenters of

Esquire Ware's State Line Tavern still take their refreshments either in Pownal or Williamstown. Jonathan Bridges's and Capt. Nehemiah Smedley's large farmhouses served as public inns. The huge stone ovens in Col. Benjamin



Smedley's Green River Mansion, built by Capt. Nehemiah Smedley between 1770 and 1777. The Cellar Kitchen Door on the south side of the house leads to the Great Stone Oven where many loaves of bread were baked for the soldiers who aided in taking Fort Ticonderoga and winning the victory of Bennington between 1775 and 1777. Smedley Mansion is known as the Benjamin Bridges Place to-day.

Simonds's River Bend and Capt. Nehemiah Smedley's mansions baked many a tempting portion of rye and Indian bread and beans for the Revolutionary soldiers. Ephraim Seelye's homestead stood north of River Bend Tavern, and the original regulation house of Robert Hawkins still stands opposite the site, on the corner of Simonds and Hoosac roads.

On the sites of Simonds's and Horsford's inns on The Square were later located Skinner's Mansion House and the

Taconac Inn, both of which burned a few years ago. Mansion House is now replaced by Hotel Greylock. Samuel Sloan's Tavern in South Village is now replaced by Idle Wild on the site of Prof. R. F. Mills's School for Boys. Esquire Ware's Tavern on Vermont State Line has always been a famous resort for clandestine marriages of Berkshire and Bennington couples. One "Great Room" is located north of the Line in Vermont and another south of the Line in Massachusetts. Here the matrimonial knot has been legalized, if not solemnized, for many fugitive lovers.

Four cider-brandy stills were built in West Hoosac by men of character, soon after the corn-mills, and these brought desolation among many families in the valley. Total abstinence was agitated between 1820 and 1830, and prohibition laws are still in force at the State Line House.

All the White Oaks homesteaders reared large families. John Smedley, the miller, raised eight girls, to offset the large families of Simonds, Bridges, Seelyes, Danforths, and Sweets. The children all attended the district school on the site of the stone schoolhouse built in 1838, which is now used as a blacksmith's shop. The first store of White Oaks still stands north of the Ripley Cole homestead and is used as a tenement house, and through the stony pastures of River Bend Farm may still be traced the Hoosacs' war-trail.

After the news of the Battle of Lexington reached English Hoosac, Capt. Samuel Sloan of South Williamstown rallied a company of "Minute Men." He was joined by Parson Whitman Welch and his parishioners of the First Church, who fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th. Parson Welch sold his Green River meadow lot on May 4th to Nehemiah Smedley for £70. After Captain Sloan's company of "Musket Men"¹ was formed from the Hoosac Minute Men during September, 1775, Parson Welch was

¹ See note 14, at end of volume.

among the non-enrolled volunteers who marched with Gen. Benedict Arnold's army through the Maine Woods to surprise the British. He was among those who died from small-pox during March, 1776, near Quebec. His wife and three children returned to Connecticut later and left their Williamstown garden overgrown with Colchester roses.¹

Landlord Benjamin Simonds was commissioned Colonel of the Berkshire County militia, August 30, 1775. During April, 1777, the County was divided into the North and South military districts, and Col. John Patterson of Lenox commanded the South and Col. Benjamin Simonds the North regiments.

It was during August, 1776, that Captain Eddy's company of thirty nine ship-carpenters from Providence, R. I., on their march to Skenesboro Navy Yard, on Lake Champlain, were exposed to small-pox and quarantined in the John Smedley mill-house at Williamstown. Dr. William Page inoculated them, and Isaac Stratton, clerk of the Council of Safety, together with Samuel Kellogg, William Horsford, Daniel Stratton, and David Noble were placed in charge of the men until they were discharged. The Smedley mill-house was known as the "Pest-house" until torn down about 1843.

After the death of the Rev. Whitman Welch, Parson Noble preached at the First Church of Williamstown until the Rev. Seth Swift from Kent, Conn., a Yale graduate of 1774, was installed in May, 1779. The records at that time contained the following members' names²:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Elisha Baker | Mary Marks Burbank |
| Phoebe Nichols Baker | Samuel Burchard |
| Martha Young Blair | Elizabeth Hamilton Burchard |
| Daniel Burbank | Sarah Luce Byam |

¹ Bliss Perry, "The Colchester Rose," *Youth's Companion*, March 31, 1889.

² Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 148-149.

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| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Hannah Davis | Nathan Foot |
| Sampson Howe | Marianne Foot |
| Hannah Foot Howe | Israel Harris |
| Daniel Horsford | Sarah Morse Harris |
| David Johnson | Rachel Baldwin Hawkins |
| Phoebe Cole Johnson | Samuel Kellogg |
| Henry Johnson | Chloe Bacon Kellogg |
| Abiah Johnson | Dea. James Meacham |
| Persis Johnson | Lucy Rugg Meacham |
| Isaac Ovits | Jonathan Meacham |
| Moses Rich | Thankful Rugg Meacham |
| Thomas Roe | David Noble |
| Mary Wells Roe | Abigall Bennett Noble |
| Catherine Davis Smith | Esther Wilson Ovits |
| Deborah Spencer | Mary Roberts |
| Isaac Stratton | Anna Dwight Sabin |
| Mary Fox Stratton | Nathaniel Sanford |
| Ruth Tyrrel Torrey | David Southwick |
| Hannah Wheeler Torrey | Thankful Davis Southwick |
| Hannah Torrey Hatfield | Mary Dormer Stratton |
| Elizabeth Lewis Williams | Martha Marks Tallmadge |
| Dea. Nathan Wheeler | Marvin Gaylord Welch |
| Sarah Wheeler | William Wells |
| Nathan Wheeler, Jr. | Rebecca Stoddard Wells |
| Gideon Wright | Mary Wilson |
| Elizabeth Downs Downing | Nathan Bristar Woodcock |
| Thomas Dunton | Josiah Wright |
| Mary Davis Dunton | Abigall Wright |
| Elizabeth Egleston | Sarah Wright |

Col. Benjamin Simonds during the last ten years of his life, between 1797 and 1807, resided with his second wife, widow of Asa Putnam of Brattleboro, Vt., in the Robert Hawkins house, opposite his River Bend Tavern. It was his custom to sit in an arm-chair by his front door, clad in regimental coat, knickerbocker trousers, frilled shirt bosom, white

neckerchief, and continental hat, and chat with migrating pilgrims. He made his will in 1803 and left his two volumes



Col. Benjamin Simonds, Commander of the Berkshire Boys between 1775 and 1777. He figured in the Council of War held by General John Stark at the Catamount Tavern, August 13, 1777, before the Battle of Bennington.

of Brown's Bible to his granddaughter, Sally Train-Blair, daughter of Rachel Simonds and Thomas Train and subsequently the wife of William Blair. The Bible descended to Deacon Henry Blair, and in turn to his son, Austin Blair, now residing in Salem, N.Y. The artist, W. Jennys, in 1796 painted the portraits of Colonel Simonds and his second wife, and they were willed to his daughter, Polly

Simonds-Putnam, wife of his stepson, Perley Putnam. After being passed among other members of the family, the Colonel's portrait came into the possession of Grace Perry of Williamstown, Mass., a great-granddaughter of Prudence Simonds-Bridges. The historic portrait will undoubtedly descend to Grace Perry, eldest daughter of Bliss Perry, who is a great-great-great-granddaughter of Colonel Simonds.

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Among the patriotic epitaphs in the Old Hemlock Cemetery of Williamstown may be mentioned those of Elisha Baker, uncle of the Green Mountain Boys, Remember Baker and Ethan Allen. He died May 22, 1797. Col. Benjamin Simonds's monument bears the simple record to his memory as one of the first settlers of Williamstown, and a firm supporter of his "Country's Independence." He was born February 23, 1726, and died April 11, 1807.

A monument to Col. Benjamin Simonds should be erected on The Square in Williamstown. He was the only surviving English captive who, taken from Fort Massachusetts to Canada by General Rigaud in 1746, returned and settled in English Hoosac. He aided in building Fort Hoosac in 1756 and served as garrison soldier and member of the Council of Public Safety until the Fort was abandoned in 1761. He was commissioned Colonel of Berkshire militia during the Revolution in 1775 and led in the fatal Battle of White Plains, October 28, 1776. During the winter of 1777 he took command of Fort Ticonderoga. On August 13, 1777, he met with Gen. John Stark and Col. Seth Warner in the council of war at the "Catamount Tavern" before the Battle of Bennington.

Henry Ward Beecher of Litchfield County wrote that: "From Salisbury to Williamstown and thence to Bennington there stretches a country of valleys and lakes and mountains, that is to be as celebrated as the lake district of England or the hill country of Palestine."

CHAPTER IX

EAST HOOSAC PLANTATION AND ADAMS

1749-1815

*Safe from the Morning's golden eye
And sheltered from the Western breeze,
These happy regions bosomed lie—*

*Hemmed in with hills whose heads aspire,
Abrupt and rude, and hung with woods;*

Where devious Hoosac rolls his floods.

BRYANT, *Descriptio Gulielmopolis*.¹

Survey 1749—Proprietors—Mills—Taverns—Congregational Church—
Militia—Town-Meeting—Adams and North Adams—Baptist, Quaker,
and Methodist Churches—Schools—Burial-Fields—Fort Massachusetts
Meadow—Perry Elm.

THE New England soldiers who marched down the Hoosac Pass caught only faint glimpses of tasselled cornfields along the banks of the upper Hoosac, between the second survey of "East Hoosuck Plantation" in October, 1749, and the settlement of the propriety thirteen years later.

The Ashawagh meadows on the headwaters of the Hoosac contain a buried forest. Hemlock logs have been unearthed about Kingsley Place near the Cross Road, and several original pines were felled on the site of "Slab City," now North Adams, which measured from 100 to 114 feet to the first limb.

The valley of the Mayoonsac and the Ashawaghsac,² the

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 340-341.

² See note 1, at end of volume.

north and the south branches of the upper Hoosac, is closed off from the eastern part of Massachusetts by the "For-



North Adams in 1840 during the Stage-Coach Days, before the building of the Hoosac Tunnel Railway through Hoosac Mountain. The view shows the Ashawaghsac River Bridge with Colgrove's and Brown's Grist-Mill on the east and the Saw-Mill on the west bank of the stream. The Waterman-Wilbur Tavern, now Richmond House, together with the Block or Black Tavern, is located on the right side of Main Street, and the North Adams House and Bissell Building are located on the opposite side of Main Street. In the distance is observed the Second Baptist Church on the corner of Eagle and Main Streets, and opposite is observed the Second Congregational Church. The Stage-Coaches drawn by four horses from Greenfield and Bennington are both arriving at the North Adams House where Nathaniel Hawthorne sojourned some time during the summer of 1838.

bidden Hoosac Mountain" and from the Green River Valley of Williamstown on the west by Mount Greylock, which range is over six miles east and west in extent. Berkshire County is fourteen miles in width on the north, and Greylock Range is broken only by the Hoosac Pass through North Adams and by the Green River Pass through Williamstown.

The General Court, in 1745, granted Samuel Rice a farm of two hundred acres, for building a road from Capt. Moses Rice's Charlemont Inn, over the Hoosac Mountain to the Ashawaghsac ford, on the site of North Adams. Rude wood roads at that time led south on the east and west sides of Ashawagh Swamp to Lake Pontoosac and Stockbridge. The Raven Rock Road through The Notch, owing to the muddy trail of the Ashawagh Meadows, remained the main travelled highway long after the opening of the 19th century.

As early as 1751, Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., of Fort Massachusetts engaged Jedidiah Hurd to build a saw-mill on the west, and a grist-mill on the east bank of the Ashawaghsac, and a trestle bridge with a log-railing over the stream. The logs of the Ashawaghsac ford and the mill-dam timbers were unearthed at the time the abutments of the present iron bridge were built in North Adams. Tradition records that another saw-mill was built on the south bank of the Mayoonsac above its junction with the Ashawaghsac in 1756. The Schaghticokes challenged the headwaters of the Hoosac hunting-grounds, and lurked in ambuscade on the sand knolls opposite the Mayoonsac Mill and shot the sawyer at his post.

After the sandy hillsides of East Hoosac were cleared, the soil proved too dry to raise beans and the lowlands were too wet to raise English grass and corn. The excellent mill-power was considered valuable by the "River Gods" of the Connecticut, and during October, 1749, Col. Oliver Partridge and surveyor Nathaniel Dwight rode from Hatfield over the Hoosac Mountain, and completed the second survey of East Hoosac and West Hoosac.

The south line of East Hoosac—now Adams—began at a marked hemlock tree on the bank of the Ashawaghsac—now in Cheshire—and ran east to a point on Hoosac Mountain; thence north seven miles up the Mayoonsac Valley below

Hazen's Line of Massachusetts; thence westerly five miles to West Hoosac, now Williamstown, at a point north of Blackington Mills; thence southward over the west brow of Mount Greylock and eastward to the place of beginning. Chairman Partridge on November 10, 1749, reported to the General Court that he considered four miles of the East Hoosac interval "rich and good land."

On February 16, 1762, the General Court voted that "East Hoosuck," known as Town No. I, should be sold at public auction to the highest bidders, the set-up price to begin at £800. The sale took place at the Royal Exchange Tavern, King Street, Boston, on June 2d following, and was struck off by prearrangement to Nathan Jones of Weston, Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., Col. James Otis, and Col. John Murray for £3200, four times the set-up price.

The first taverns of the proprietors were located near Fort Massachusetts, at Five Points, on the Hoosac Mountain Road, and the Raven Rock Road through The Notch. Charles Wright, a soldier from Northfield, in Col. Israel Williams's regiment that reinforced General Wolfe's army at Quebec in 1759, obtained a tavern license. He built the Fort Tavern east of St. Francis Ledge, after Fort Massachusetts was abandoned and Capt. Isaac Wyman had moved to Keene, N. H., in November 1761. About 1762, Landlord Wright moved his wife, Ruth Boltwood-Wright, and their two sons, Samuel and Josiah, from Amherst. His third son, Solomon, was born in the Fort barracks, December 28, 1763. The next spring Wright moved his family to his Pownal inn, ten miles down the Hoosac, where he became a large land-owner.

A number of settlers located on Raven Rock Road, over the Ragged Mountains. The blacksmith, Joseph Darby, established a shop two rods below Notch Brook Bridge, near the Cady and Knight homesteads; and the Wilbur, Arnold, Eddy, and Carpenter families settled in the upper Notch.

Jeremiah Wilbur ran a tavern at the extreme portion of the Vale. He owned 1600 acres including Wilbur Park and the summit of Mount Greylock. His farm in 1829 was considered one of the finest in Northern Berkshire. He then owned a dairy of forty cows and five hundred Saxony or Merino sheep.

The Wilbur, Eddy, Carpenter, Arnold, and Niles families of Adams, Pownal, and White Creek hailed from Rhode Island, and were all related by marriage. John, William, and Benedict Arnold of Adams and Pownal were lineal descendants of William Arnold of Leamington, Warwickshire, England, who settled in Salem, Mass., in 1630, and later joined Roger Williams's Colony of Quakers in Providence. His son, Benedict Arnold, was the first Governor of Rhode Island. He owned the subsequently famous Newport Tower, said to be modelled after an old windmill of Leamington, England. He was the father of General Benedict Arnold of Revolutionary ill-fame.

Forty-eight settling-lots, containing one hundred acres each, were surveyed in East Hoosac and offered for sale during October, 1762. Each purchaser of a lot gave his bond for £20 to the treasurer of the Province and agreed to pay a share of the expense of building roads and bridges. He was required to erect a regulation house, to clear, plough, and sow six acres with corn or English grass within five years, and to aid in building a meeting-house and settle a "learned orthodox Minister."

Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., of Weston, one of the four original proprietors of "East Hoosac Plantation," was the father of fourteen sons. He became interested in Old Berkshire real estate. Col. William Williams, founder of Pittsfield, was a son of the Weston minister and a nephew of Col. John Stoddard, one of the three original proprietors of Pittsfield. In 1748, Colonel Stoddard presented young Williams with



Raven Rock Road through the Notch Valley during winter.

a hundred-acre lot on The Square. Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., also bought a thousand acres in Pittsfield in 1751, and in 1762 became one of the four proprietors of East Hoosac.

Lots sold slowly in the latter town, and during 1766 Israel Jones, fourth son of Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., then twenty-eight years of age, was authorized to survey twenty extra settling-lots, dispose of sixty settling-lots, and locate a minister before 1767.

The first proprietors to break sod and build their regulation houses in North Adams were: Abiel Smith and his two sons, Gideon and Jacob; Justus Blakeley, Jedidiah Hurd, John Kilburn, John McNeal, Jonathan Smith, Reuben Hinman, Oliver Parker, Sr., and his son, Andrew Parker, Samuel Leavenworth, Asaph Cook, the Kingsleys, Israel Jones, and Rev. Samuel Todd.

A log meeting-house was built in 1766, opposite the Cross Road between the present Albany Railroad and the Street Railway, east of the Hoosac Valley Park gate. The minister's lot 48 contained one hundred acres and covered portions of the present Hodge and Ballou farms. The Ballou dwelling is one of the oldest houses standing in the North Adams intervale, and is believed to have been Minister Todd's regulation house.

Parson Todd was, at the time of his arrival in East Hoosac, a gentleman of forty-seven years. He was graduated from Yale in 1734, at the age of fifteen. He located at Woodbury, Ct., five years later, and adopted the "New Light System" of Whitfield. About the first meeting-house in Adams Valley were enacted many romances during blossoming May, while the frogs were piping and croaking near by in the Ashawagh Swamps. Here the gallant Israel Jones courted the minister's daughter, Alitheia, and they were married in 1767 and began housekeeping in the Fort Tavern, until their homestead was built on the site of Capt. Clement

Harrison's Mansion, east of St. Francis Indian Ledge. Esquire Israel Jones became deacon of the church and unlike his Tory father was a Whig in politics.

Two years after Israel Jones arrived in East Hoosac he had sold seventy-three settling-lots, and Capt. Charles Baker prepared a Plan of the town and surveyed two hundred farms, containing a hundred acres each. The Plan, containing the numbers, the positions of farms, and the names of proprietors, is found in the Town Clerk's Office of North Adams to-day. The name of Nathan Jones appears on lot 26, Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., on lot 24, Col. James Otis on lot 12, and Col. John Murray on lot 10. Ephraim Williams's mill-lot and settling-lot 24 are now occupied by the city of North Adams.

A proprietors' meeting was held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, February 5, 1768, and the General Court recorded Baker's Plan of East Hoosac. Meanwhile, the Ephraim Williams Fort Farm and Mills, purchased by Capt. Elisha Chapin and Moses Graves in 1751 for £350, reverted to the Williams estate after 1755. In 1770, Esquire Israel Jones purchased the farm, and his Tory brother, Capt. Elisha Jones, Jr., bought his mills, and agreed to maintain them twenty years. Upon the approach of the Revolution in 1773, however, Jedidiah Hurd purchased the mills and Capt. Elisha Jones, Jr., joined his father, Col. Elisha Jones, Sr., in Canada.

His mill-lot 24 was subsequently advertised for sale as abandoned land by Samuel Adams, President of the Senate, John Warren, Speaker of the House, approved by John Hancock. After a legal hearing, however, Jedidiah Hurd obtained a deed for the mills from the General Court. His grandson, Captain Blakeley of St. Paul, Minnesota, a son of the pioneer settler, Justus Blakeley, of East Hoosac propriety, informed the President of Fort Massachusetts His-

torical Society during 1895 that he held the certified bill of sale of Ephraim Williams's Mills to Jedidiah Hurd from Capt. Elisha Jones.

The South Village of Adams was settled by Quakers. It contained ten times as many inhabitants as the North Village, founded by Congregationalists and Baptists. Old Pastor Stoughton, in his election sermon during 1688, said that: "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." After the firing of the first guns at Lexington, Parson Whitman Welch and his parishioners of the First Congregational Church of Williamstown, headed by Capt. Samuel Sloan, faced the British in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Captain Sloan's subsequent company of "Musket Men" were chosen from the Hoosac "Minute Men," and marched with Gen. Benedict Arnold's troops against Quebec. Captain Sloan's muster-roll¹ included the names of twelve men from East Hoosac, now Adams, and North Adams; twenty-seven from Williamstown; six from New Providence, now Stafford Hill, in Cheshire; nine from Lanesboro and New Ashford; one from Windsor, one from Sheffield, and a drummer from Boston.

The muster-roll of the first company of East Hoosac militia contained fifty-one men commanded by Capt. Enos Parker, son of Oliver Parker, Sr. The New Providence Independents, residing on Stafford Hill, now Cheshire, organized a company of forty-one men under Col. Joab Stafford. They aided the "Fighting Parson," Thomas Allen, and his Pittsfield parishioners in tumbling down Colonel Van Pfister's Tory breastworks and winning the Battle of Bennington on August 16, 1777. Stafford Hill to-day, like ancient Sarum of England, is deserted.

After the Americans' evacuation of Ticonderoga on July 5th, until the surrender of the Britishers at Old Saratoga in

¹ See note 14, at end of volume.

October, 1777, a constant line of New England troopers marched over Hoosac Mountain. The Old Brown Tavern at Five Points on the side of Hoosac Mountain, and Oliver Parker's Fort Tavern were crowded day and night. The latter often had a captain's company to dinner, and it is recorded that he served five fat beeves weekly during August, 1777. His two sons, Enos and Didmus, and a nephew, Giles Parker, all led companies against the British.

Josiah Holbrook, Jr., another East Hoosac patriot, resided in a log dwelling near the Reuben Whitman homestead on State Street. He captured a band of thirteen Hessians on the Walloomsac battle-field, while they were drinking at a spring. He seized their rifles, and bawled out to his imaginary comrades: "Come on, here they are!" Thus he drove them all like unresisting sheep ahead of him to the American camp. Upon being questioned by General Stark how he managed to capture such a herd, Holbrook replied: "I surrounded 'em, Sir!"¹ Holbrook Street in North Adams bears his name to-day.

A year after the surrender of the British at Old Saratoga, East Hoosac was incorporated Adams, in honor of Samuel Adams, the "Father of the American Revolution," on October 15, 1778, and Jericho, south of Williamstown, was incorporated Hancock, in honor of John Hancock.

The first town-meeting of Adams took place near the First Church on the Cross Road, March 8, 1779. Nine-tenths of the voters resided at the Quaker Village in the south part of the town. The officers included: Capt. Philip Mason, moderator; Isaac Arnold, clerk; Capt. Reuben Hinman, treasurer; and Capt. Philip Mason, Israel Jones, and Reuben Hinman, selectmen. On March 22d, Luther Rich, David Jewell, and Eleazar Brown were chosen assessors; Elisha Jones, Elias Jones, Gideon Smith (superseded by

¹ Hamilton Morris, *History of North Adams, 1859-1860*.

Justus Blakeley, June 17th), Jonathan Russe, Stephen Smith, Philip Mason, Ruluff White, Oliver Parker, Jonathan Hale, and Daniel Sherman, surveyors of highways; Lemuel Leavenworth (superseded by Justus Holt, June 17th) and William Barker, collectors of taxes; Edmund Jenks, Benjamin Baker, William Smith, Jedidiah Hurd, and John Kilburn, Committee of Public Safety. The business of the last named was that of patrolling guard to thwart Tory, British, French, and Indian spies of American liberty. After the organization of Adams two military companies were formed, and the Cross Road was adopted as the military line separating the North from the South districts.

At the first town-meeting, the Baptist and Quaker vote won the day and Parson Samuel Todd of the First Congregational Church received a minority. He was requested to relinquish his rights to the minister's lot 48, granted to him for life in 1766 by the General Court, and soon removed to Oxford, N. H., the third town above Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College. He did not relinquish his rights to his farm, and this resulted in religious and political controversies between the settlers of the South Village and the North Village until the town was divided. North Adams was incorporated in April, 1878, and the military line running east and west on the Cross Road was adopted as the boundary between the two towns.

The membership of the Congregational Church decreased with constant shifting of population and the meeting-house was abandoned in 1803. Deacon Israel Jones and his wife, Alithea Todd-Jones, attended the Congregational Church at Williamstown until the deacon's death in 1828, and he was buried in the Hemlock Brook Cemetery in Williamstown. The Second Congregational Church was built in 1827 on The Square in North Adams, opposite the First Baptist Church. Parson Todd's lot 48 is now occupied by the North

Adams Poor Farm, and the dividing line between the two towns has recently been removed farther south, near the Adams Poor Farm.

After Parson Todd's resignation in 1779 the people of the Adams Valley were without a minister until 1782, when it was voted to raise funds and build a frame meeting-house, 30 x 38 feet in size, near the corner of Church and Pleasant streets in the North Village. The building remained unfinished until the arrival of the Rhode Island Baptists. Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove from Providence, R. I., was road-master in 1793, and headed by the Baptist Elder, Amos Brownson, a millwright and carpenter, fifty men with fifty yoke of oxen held a "moving-bee" and cleared the stumps from Church and Main streets. The meeting-house was hauled down Church Street and set on the northeast corner of Main and Eagle streets, where it remained unfinished for thirteen years. Its floor consisted of loose boards, five feet above the ground, beneath which the pet lambs of the hamlet assembled during service, and their tinkling bells served as diversion for many listless young worshippers.

About 1806, the meeting-house was completed and the Warren Society organized the Baptist Church. Elder Dyer Stark was installed as first minister, and preached alternately also at the First Baptist Church of Stamford Hollow on the upper Mayoonsac in Vermont. Elder Amos Brownson frequently preached at the Adams Baptist Church until his removal from the valley in 1816. His homestead stood until 1858 on the corner of Eagle and River streets.

The First Baptist Church was not heated, and each family carried a foot-stove for warmth during the winter. The building faced south; and stairways on each side of the porch led up to the low gallery. The oblong pews were located along three aisles leading to the pulpit, and seated about five hundred people. The old meeting-house is still doing

duty as a furniture shop and tenement on North Church Street, in the rear of the present edifice, now the fourth Baptist Church on the site.

The oldest cemeteries in the Adams Valley besides the "God's Acre" of Fort Massachusetts are First Congregational, First Baptist, and Old Quaker churchyards. The oldest marked gravestone in Adams Intervale is that of Amos Hurd, on a sand-hill near Hoosac Valley Park, bearing date November 29, 1759. He was a soldier and perished from cold and hunger on his homeward march after the Fall of Quebec.

The oldest graves in the First Congregational churchyard lie beneath the wild cherry trees, south of the gate of the Hoosac Valley Park, marked by quartzite boulders without inscription. The oldest marked tombstones are those of "Capt. R. N. Died Jan. 25, 1793" and "Lydia and Ashael Ives," who died a century later. Captain Colgrove founded a burial-field on Colgrove Hill in 1795, where the members of the First Baptist Church were buried. A few years ago their dust was removed to the new cemetery on South Church Street near the City Poor Farm, in order to make room for a public park on North Church Street, west of Drury Academy.

The Society of Friends and their burial-field was organized in 1781, and a log meeting-house was built. The present Quaker meeting-house was erected in 1786, a mile west of McKinley Square in South Village, by the founders, David Anthony and his son, Daniel Anthony (the father of the late famous Suffragette, Susan B. Anthony), Isaac Kilby, Isaac Upton, Joshua and George Lapham, Adam Harkness, Rufus Hathaway, and others. The first speakers were Robert Nesbit, Mary Beatty, and David Aldridge.

The machinist, Hayden, of the Notch Valley organized the First Methodist Episcopal Church about 1795, aided by the famous revivalist, Lorenzo Dow, who was connected

with the Petersburg Circuit of New York. The Methodist Church was built in the North Village several years later.

The District School System of Adams proved a serious problem, and only £3 was voted toward the education of the first proprietors' children. At the time the Massa-



Old Quaker Meeting-house built in 1786 on the site of the first log meeting-house at base of Mount Greylock, Adams, Massachusetts. In the Burial-field west of the meeting-house lie buried many of the pioneer founders of the Adams Valley hamlets.

chusetts Legislature misappropriated Ephraim Williams's Free School fund, the Adams citizens raised £150 and established several schools. The town in 1793 was divided into the North and South districts and subdivided later into smaller districts.

Private tutors were engaged among the Quaker families. Daniel Anthony taught the District School in the South Village, and later his daughter, Susan B. Anthony, at the age of fifteen years, taught the children of Bowen's Corner

at her grandfather's homestead for a dollar a week each. In this way she earned money enough to complete her education at the Friends' Seminary in Philadelphia. It was little dreamed at the opening of 1810 that a century later the North District, now the city of North Adams, would boast of the best equipped State Normal College in New England.

With the advent of Samuel Day, Titus Harrison, Truman Paul, Elisha Baker, and Samuel Kellogg several historic buildings were built on the Hoosac Road between Williamstown and Adams. Day built the Blockhouse Inn previous to 1780 in the North Village of Adams. At first it was used as a storehouse for the settlers before the close of the Revolution, and after 1783 it was converted into Block Tavern. It stood on the southeast corner of Main and State streets, on the site of Martin Block, and the building was one and a half stories high, divided into two huge rooms. The first was like a shed, with a large gate for the entrance of teams and carry-alls.

According to a record preserved by the President of the Fort Massachusetts Historical Society, Day's Blockhouse Inn was built by Capt. Amos Shippee. After the passing of the old border forts, it became a mid-way lodge for migrating settlers. The bar-room proved a rallying place for Elder Brownson and parishioners, where each partook of his "toddy sticks of rock and rye" and discussed Federalism and Democracy between Shays's Rebellion and the close of the second revolution in 1815. One of the most rousing scenes associated with the inn took place after the election of President Thomas Jefferson and Vice-President Aaron Burr in 1801.

The Jeffersonian Democrat members of the Council of Safety collected the pitch-pine stumps lying about the village streets and stacked them in front of Block Tavern. They

were lighted with a torch and produced a never-to-be-forgotten smoke which blackened the front of the inn, after which the building was known as Black Tavern. The Cheshire Democrats also expressed their enthusiasm by producing the "Great Cheshire Cheese," which weighed 1235 pounds, made from the milk collected in one day from the farm dairies. The cheese was moulded in a cider press and required several yoke of oxen to haul it to Hudson ferry to be expressed to President Jefferson. The Pittsfield Democrats manifested their joy, too, by ringing "Fighting Parson Allen's" church bell until they broke the rope.

There were only five other dwellings in "Slab City," now North Adams, in 1780, including Samuel Day's Blockhouse Inn and Giles Barnes's, Josiah Wright's, Ely Colton's, and William Farrand's dwellings near Ephraim Williams's Mills, at the foot of Main Street. Oliver Parker, Sr., owned a saw-mill and grist-mill in "Upper Union" on the Mayoonsac, although a freshet which occurred on April 17, 1780, known as the "Parker Flood," swept away his mills and 50,000 feet of lumber. The millstone was rolled some distance down the stream, where it remained visible to travellers for many years. Later Oliver Parker, Sr., ran Kingsley Place Tavern and store, where his son, Oliver Parker, Jr., was born in 1784. All the bridges were destroyed during the great flood and Landlord Parker brought grain on horseback from Greenfield, and crossed over three fords to Kreigger Mills in Williamstown to get it ground. Capt. Amos Shippee brought salt on horseback also, paying \$10 per bushel for the rare article.

The period between 1783 and 1793 proved to be a trying one for the settlers of Adams, owing to the heavy taxes. Several patriots, including Josiah Holbrook, Jr., who fought heroically for the American cause during 1777, joined Shays's Rebellion in 1786. After the suppression of Shays's men,

Holbrook returned to North Adams and it took four officers to arrest him and bind him lying in his bed. The Town Records prove that Josiah Holbrook, Jr., took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth and was pardoned by General Lincoln in 1787. Esquire Israel Jones was chosen agent to petition the General Court in January, 1792, for an abatement of the State tax laid upon the Adams inhabitants in 1788. Collector Oliver Parker, Sr., was ruined financially and sent to jail by his bondsmen because he was unable to collect the apportioned tax. In spite of his threadbare clothes and thin-soled boots he continued to occupy the seat of honor in the First Baptist Church until his death. Through the depreciation of the Continental "green-backs" many a wealthy farmer throughout the Hoosac Valley died in poverty. They were required to pay \$20 in Continental specie for a dinner, \$1000 for a suit of clothes, and the price of a farm for a cow.

The progressive era of Adams began about 1793, upon the arrival of the Rhode Island Baptist manufacturers, including Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove and his brother-in-law, Elisha Brown, from Providence. The former married a daughter of Col. William Waterman of Williamstown, and he prophesied in 1795 that "Slab City" would become a great manufacturing city. Only eleven dwellings stood in the North Village in 1794, at the time Colgrove and Brown purchased Jedidiah Hurd's Mills, and seventy-five acres of land extending east to Colgrove Hill. They built a two-story brick grist-mill on the east bank of the Ashawaghsac, now the site of Phoenix Mill, and a saw-mill on the opposite bank. Daniel Harrington rebuilt Oliver Parker's Mills in the "Upper Union," and Elder Amos Brownson operated a saw-mill and planer on the Mayoonsac until he removed West in 1816. The blacksmith, Joseph Darby, opened a shop on the Notch Road, and David Estes from



North Adams in 1848, showing the third Baptist Church on the corner of Eagle and Main Streets, the other buildings having burned. The Wilbur-Richmond Tavern and the Old Black Tavern are distinguished on the right and the North Adams House, now the site of the Wilson House, on the left side of Main Street.

Connecticut opened a mill at the same time as Colgrove and Brown.

Landlord David Darling during 1616 sold the Black Tavern to Alphine Smith, who kept open hostelry during the stage-coach days until 1836. He dispensed rye and Indian corn-bread, baked beans, pumpkin pie, Cheshire sage cheese, cider brandy, and sparkling water from the hillside springs. He purchased the site of his North Adams House of Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove in 1836. In 1838 Nathaniel Hawthorne mentions the place in his *American Note-Book* as the "Whig Tavern." The site is now occupied by the Wilson House.

During 1815, Captain Colgrove induced his father-in-law, Col. William Waterman of Williamstown, to build the Waterman Tavern on the southwest corner of Main and State streets. In 1829, James Wilbur, son of Jeremiah Wilbur, Sr., of the Notch Valley, purchased the place. He repaired the house and added a front porch with pillars and a fountain on the lawn facing Main Street. The inn was in 1835 considered among the finest in Northern Berkshire. About 1866, the Wilbur Tavern was purchased and remodelled by A. E. Richmond and is known to-day as the Richmond House.

Greylock Tavern in the South Village was built by Ephraim Bassett before the Revolution. It was later purchased by the Harteau family, and became famous for its social balls. During 1825, General La Fayette was a guest at the Harteau Mansion on the Bluff, where it is reported that he fell in love with a beautiful American girl who was engaged to an officer of Washington's army. The Harteau Mansion and Greylock Tavern descended to Henry Harteau and his wife, who were known as "Lord and Lady Bountiful." After the death of "Lord Bountiful" the tavern was closed for many years. It has recently been

reopened by "Lady Bountiful," who has returned from Europe. Rufus Hathaway's homestead and several other regulation houses that were used as inns still stand in the shadow of Old Greylock on the Raven Rock trail leading over the Ragged Mountains.

Fort Massachusetts Meadow is at present surrounded by factory smoke-stacks, church-spires, and school-towers. As early as 1770, Israel Jones began to plough down the mounds marking the site of the palisade of forest staddles set by Capt. Ephraim Williams and his men in 1751. At the time of Jones's death in 1828, all traces of the barracks and garden had vanished, except for a few surviving horse-radish plants.

Capt. Clement Harrison of Williamstown purchased the Fort Meadow in 1829, and in 1852 Arthur Latham Perry recovered the tombstone of Elisha Nims from the ploughed field on the site of the "God's Acre," and it is now on exhibition at Clark Hall, Williamstown. In 1858, only a stone-heap and sheep-shed marked the site of the barracks where Albert Hopkins, Arthur Latham Perry, and Capt. Clement Harrison located the fort well. It was covered with a flat slate stone and contained brick, cooking utensils, and the pole-hook of the ancient well-sweep.

A party of Williams students joined Professors Hopkins and Perry in 1858 and planted a sapling elm, although it died, as did the second elm planted in 1859. Professor Perry later transplanted the present elm from the river bank. It was christened "Perry Elm" by the Fort Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHAPTER X

SAMUEL ROBINSON AND HISTORIC BENNINGTON

1749-1815

*Time rolls his ceaseless course. The race of yore
Who danced our infancy upon their knee,
And told our marvelling childhood legend's store
Of their strange ventures happ'd by land and sea,
How are they blotted from the things that be!*

ISAAC JENNINGS, *Memorials of a Century.*

Robinson Family—Surveys of Bennington and Pownal, 1749-1760—Military Proprietors—Mills—Churches—Schools—Town-Meetings—Militia—Taverns—Safford Mills—Irish-Corner—Little Rhode Island—Haviland Mills—Sage City—Algiers—Burial-Fields of Walloomsac.

SAMUEL ROBINSON, the first settler of Bennington, was captain of the Hardwick company in Colonel Ruggles's Massachusetts regiment during the campaigns of 1755 and 1756. On his homeward march from Lake George during the autumn of 1756, he lost the main Hoosac trail and turned up the Walloomsac Pass. He and his men pitched their tents near the site of the Old Red Bridge on the Manchester Road, at the base of Bennington Hill, where the Battle Monument now casts its shimmering reflection in the shallow waters of the stream.

The Robinson family of New England descended from Samuel Robinson, Sr., of Bristol, Eng., who located at Cambridge, Mass., in 1680. His son, Samuel Robinson, Jr., was born in 1707, and after his marriage to Mary Leonard settled in Hardwick, from which town he migrated to Bennington in 1761. He was a lineal descendant of the Rev. John Robinson, the first minister of the Pilgrims'

Leyden Church of Holland. The latter was foremost among the Separatists or Brownists, who met with Clyfton, Morton, Bradford, Smith, and others in 1606 at Brewster's Manor-house, the "Post of Scrooby," of the Archbishop of York, near the junction of the river Ryton with the Idle, and organized a Separate Church "estate in Ye felowship of Ye gospell."¹

The first colonial settlements of New York and New England were made by Protestant Dutch Boers, French Walloons, and English Pilgrims from Holland between 1611 and 1624. Between 1749 and 1777, Captains Seth Hudson, Gent., Samuel Robinson, Thomas Jewett, and other lineal descendants of Henry Hudson's crew of the *Half-Moon* and the Rev. John Robinson's Leyden Pilgrims of the ship *Mayflower*, settled in Williamstown, Pownal, Bennington, and Shaftsbury, bordering the Twenty-Mile Line of Dutch Hoosac between New York, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire Grants.

The original founders of Bennington and Pownal were veteran commanders and soldiers in the French and Indian War, who rocked the cradles of the Revolutionary "Sons of Freedom" in Fort Massachusetts and Fort Hoosac. Bennington proved the first town chartered in the Green Mountain region, west of the Connecticut River. It was planned by Col. William Williams, the "Father of Pittsfield," Theodore Atkinson, Foster Wentworth, and surveyed by Matthew Clyfton nine months before Adams and Williamstown. Gov. Benning Wentworth signed and sealed the charter, January 3, 1749, although the town was not settled until twelve years later.

The southwest corner of Bennington was located on the Twenty-Mile Line of New York by beginning the survey at

¹ Henry Morton Dexter, "The First American to Visit Scrooby, 1851," *New Eng. Mag.*, Oct., 1890.

a hemlock tree marked "W. W.," six miles north of a "White Oak Tree marked M. C. I. T." on Hazen's Line of Massachusetts Bay, twenty-four miles east of Hudson River. The survey continued four miles west to the established corner of a stake and stones, thence north six miles to the present marble marker half a mile south of Tory Matthew's State Line Tavern, now known as Charles B. Allen's residence, thence east six miles, thence south six miles, and west two miles to the hemlock tree marked "W. W."

Bennington and Pownal are types of all the towns granted in the Green Mountain State by Governor Wentworth. Each charter contained a clause for education, religion, and "thrift, thrift—Horatio!" Every proprietor was required to build a regulation house, clear and cultivate five acres out of every fifty acres in his possession within five years, and aid in building mills, a meeting-house, schoolhouses, roads, and bridges.

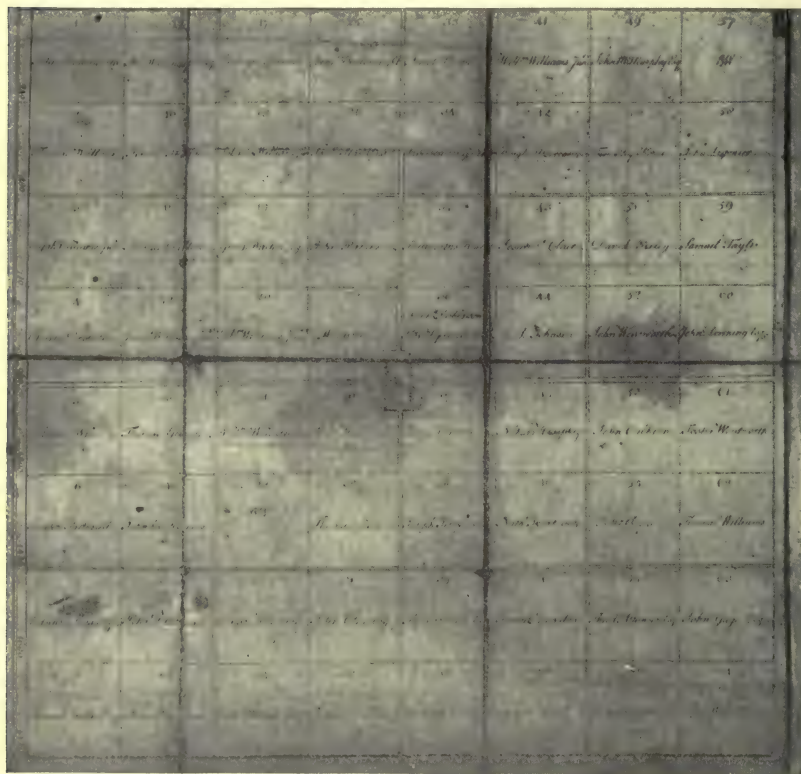
The village plot at Bennington Centre contained sixty-four acre lots, and the rest of the town was divided into sixty-four equal shares. "One whole Share was reserved for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and one Share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by Law Established, and one Share for the Benefit of a School"; and a "Tract of Five Hundred Acres, marked 'B. W.' on the Plan, to His Excellency, Benning Wentworth, Esq." It was said that in subsequent towns: "If there was any Land bad enough to be of man and God forsaken, the guileless grantees so managed that that very Land turned out to be the 'Governor's Rights.'" A quit-rent of "One Ear of Indian Corn" for each village lot, and one shilling Proclamation Money for every one hundred acres was required of the proprietors annually on December 25th.

Among the veterans of the French and Indian War on the Bennington Plan appear the names of Sir William Pep-



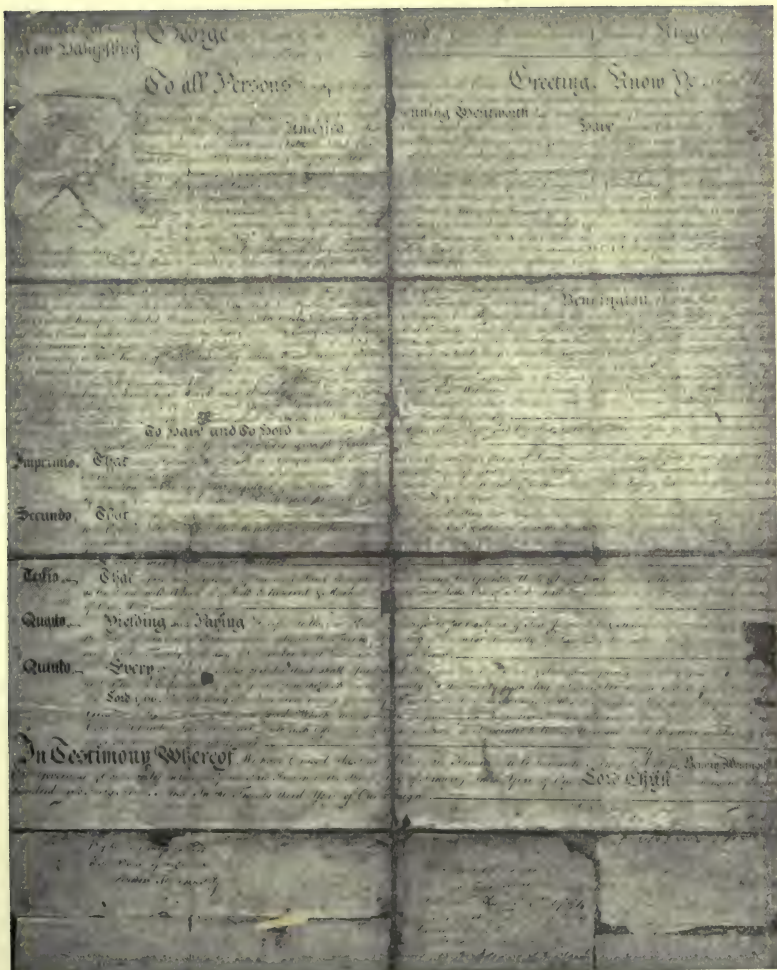
The Walloomsac River above the Old Red Bridge on the Bennington and Manchester Road, at the northern base of Bennington Hill. The Battle Monument is reflected in the shallow water of the river. It is probably the only place where it is reflected in the Walloomsac.

perell of Maine, General of the New England Rangers, who captured the "Gibraltar Fortress" of the French in 1745, and of Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., on lot 38; and the names



Plan of Bennington Township, granted to Col. William Williams and others by Gov. Benning Wentworth, January 3, 1749.

of Col. William Williams and Col. Israel Williams, nephews of John Stoddard, Colonel of the Hampshire (Berkshire) militia until his death in June, 1748, and Capt. Ephraim Williams, Jr., of Fort Massachusetts and his brother, Dr. Thomas Williams, besides their half brothers, Josiah and Elijah Williams, and cousin, the Rev. John Williams of



Charter of Bennington, the first Township granted in the Green Mountain State by Gov. Benning Wentworth, January 3, 1749. Settled in April, 1761.

Deerfield, son of Col. Israel Williams, and several Scotch-Irish soldiers from Forts Shirley and Pelham. Gov. Benning Wentworth, John and Foster Wentworth, Theodore Atkinson, and other members of the Portsmouth Council of New Hampshire later sold their shares to Massachusetts and Connecticut proprietors.

The town of Pownal, south of Bennington, was chartered by Governor Wentworth January 8, 1760, and named after Gov. Thomas Pownal of Massachusetts. The first proprietors included Capt. Seth Hudson, Gent., and several Fort Hoosac and Fort Massachusetts garrison soldiers, including: John Lovatt,¹ John Corey, Ezekiel Hinds, Silas Pratt, Abraham Bass, Ephraim Bassett, Charles Wright, Isaac Charles, John Horsford, Ephraim Seelye, Sr., Michael Dunning, Obadiah Dunham, and others.

A proprietors' meeting took place in June, 1760, and it was voted to give the Dutch burgher, named Kreigger, a "single right," on account of mill improvements made at the foot of Kreigger Rocks at North Corners, now North Pownal, where the first mill in Vermont, west of the Green Mountains, was built. The first town-meeting was held May 8, 1763, at Charles Wright's Tavern, later known as Rev. John M. Bachelder's Rural School for Boys, now the site of the Hon. Amasa Thompson's residence in South Pownal. Capt. Seth Hudson, Gent., was chosen moderator; Asa Alger, clerk; John Van Arnam, constable; Edmond Town, Asa Alger, and Jabez Warren, selectmen; and Thomas Juet or Jewett, justice of the peace. The first Tuesday of January was set aside for the annual town-meeting.

The Elder, George Gardner, son of Capt. Caleb Gardner of Jericho, now Hancock, Mass., was fourteen days moving his family and goods to his log parsonage, on the site of the Frank Paddock homestead at the foot of Carpenter Hill in Pownal. His daughter Sarah proved to be

¹ Descendant of Earl of Lovatt.

the first child born in the town. Elder Gardner planted an apple nursery at the age of eighty-five and lived to eat fruit from the orchard, nineteen years later, at the age of one hundred and four years. The first log meeting-house of Pownal was built in the orchard, east of his dwelling. Elder Gardner was a Tory and after the Battle of Bennington he was hung to a fence stake by his leathern waist-band until squeezed into a Whig. His grave is marked in the Gardner burial-field on Kreigger Rock Road.

Pownal was thus settled before Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., from Hardwick, Mass., in April, 1761, set out on horseback for Bennington, to build his log house on lot 38. He remained at Capt. Moses Rice's Inn in Charlemont on April 9th, where he purchased spring wheat, and the next evening he remained at Benjamin Simonds's Inn at Fort Hoosac Village, now Williamstown. He reached the maple grove on Bennington Hill, April 11th, and built his cottage, planted a garden, and cleared and sowed a field of wheat.

During June, a party of twenty-two souls rode over Hoosac Mountain Road. It included Leonard and Samuel Robinson, Jr.; Peter, Eleazar, and Mary Harwood from Hardwick; and Samuel and Timothy Pratt from Amherst, Mass. They remained overnight at Captain Rice's Tavern, June 18th, and at sunset the next day dismounted on The Square at Fort Hoosac. Capt. Seth Hudson, Benjamin Simonds, and Nehemiah Smedley welcomed the pilgrims. The Smedley cottage, built in 1753, was surrounded by an apple orchard on lot 1. Young Smedley was an awkward bachelor of twenty-eight when Molly Harwood, just sweet sixteen, arrived in apple-blossom time. Her brothers, Peter and Eleazar, must have helped things along in a social way, for two years after Molly Harwood's ride to Bennington Centre she became the mistress of Smedley cottage in Williamstown. Their first child, Levi Smedley, was born October 8, 1764, and

upon his eighth birthday Nehemiah Smedley had a "raising bee" at which the Harwoods and other Bennington boys



Six Representative Sons of Freedom, five of whom were born at Bennington, New Hampshire Grants, between 1762-1777. Beginning on left of seated row appear: Benjamin Harwood, first child born in Bennington, January 2, 1762, died January 22, 1851; Abisha Kingsley, born March 18, 1766, died August 9, 1859; Aaron Robinson, born May 4, 1768, died August 10, 1849; Samuel Safford, born in Sunderland, Massachusetts, June 24, 1761, died September 11, 1851. Beginning on left of standing row appear: David Robinson, born July 13, 1777, died March 15, 1858; Samuel Fay, born August 16, 1772, died December 25, 1863. The latter was five years of age at the time the Battle of Bennington was fought.

hoisted into position the white oak timbers of his Green River Mansion,¹ now known as the Benjamin Bridges Place.

The six pioneer families arrived at Bennington Centre, June 18, 1761, and were followed by thirty other families

¹ See illustration, Chapter VIII.

before Christmas, including Samuel Robinson, Sr., and John Fassett from Hardwick; Elisha Field, Samuel Montague, Experience Richardson, and Jonathan Scott from Sunderland; James Breakenridge, Ebenezer Wood, Samuel and Oliver Scott, Joseph Wickwire, and Samuel Atwood from Ware neighborhood, Mass.; and Joseph Safford, John Smith, John Burnham, Jr., Benajah Rood from Newint (Old Norwich) Ct., and others. Benjamin Harwood was the first child born in the town, January 2, 1762, and was eighty-nine years old at the time of his death in 1851.

The first proprietors' meeting took place February 11, 1762, and Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., and John Fassett were respectively chosen moderator and clerk. At an adjourned meeting held February 20th, it was voted to lay out a meeting-house plot of three acres, including a burial-field. The town records between 1762 and 1794 are still to be found on a few yellow pages, eight inches square, in the first book of Bennington County Clerk's Office.

After the admittance of fifty families, the town-meeting was held at Landlord John Fassett's Tavern, Wednesday March 31, 1762. Samuel Montague was chosen moderator; Moses Robinson, Sr., clerk; Deacon Joseph Safford, treasurer; Samuel Montague, Moses Scott, James Breakenridge, Benajah Rood, and Joseph Wickwire, selectmen; Samuel Robinson, Jr., and John Smith, Jr., constables; Deacon Joseph Safford and Elisha Field, tithing-men; Peter Harwood and John Smith, Jr., hay-wards; Samuel Atwood and Samuel Pratt, fence-viewers; Timothy Pratt and Oliver Scott, deer-rifts.

During June, 1762, it was voted to grant a mill-lot of five acres and forty dollars to build a grist-mill and saw-mill, and Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., and Deacon Joseph Safford agreed to build the mills before January, 1763. The grist-mill occupied the east bank of the Walloomsac, near the corner

of Beech and Main streets; and the saw-mill stood on the west bank, near the corner of Main and Morgan streets. The mill-dam on the South Branch of the Walloomsac is known as Benton Pond to-day. The miller was allowed three quarts toll for every bushel of corn or wheat ground—a pint more than any other miller of Hoosac Valley was allowed. Lieut. William Henry built a grist-mill and store at "Irish Corners," now Riverside, about 1769; and the Tory, Joseph Haviland, ran another grist-mill on Haviland Brook, now Paran Creek, at North Bennington. During 1775, Eldad Dewey, son of Parson Dewey, built a grist-mill and saw-mill at the junction of Dewey Brook with the Walloomsac, northwest of Dewey homestead on West Main Street, east of Bennington Hill.

Deacon Samuel Robinson, Sr., was a large landowner in Pownal and Shaftsbury. He entertained pioneers desiring to purchase farms and avoided mixing creeds, the prime cause that broke up the First Congregational Church of Adams. He managed to ascertain the religious views of buyers, and if they proved Strict Congregationalists, he invited them to settle in Bennington; but if they advocated the Baptist creed of the "Warren Society," he sent them to Shaftsbury. It was jocosely said that if they expressed no faith whatever, he advised them to settle in Pownal.

The First Church of Bennington was organized from excommunicants of five "Old Light" churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut. John Montague was deacon of the First Church of Sunderland, Mass., founded in 1818. He preserved a record, dated March 3, 1749, revealing that several members held the "New Light" Doctrine, and fifteen of the "New Lights" were excommunicated. Four of those men, including Samuel Montague, son of Deacon Montague, moved to Bennington in 1761.

The first log meeting-house built within the limits of

Bennington was organized by the Rev. Ithamar Hibbard,^{*} on Hibbard's lot, on the slope of Mount Anthony, during the spring of 1762. He adopted the "New Light System" of the Rev. Ebenezer Frothingham of Middletown Church



The First Church of Christ, Bennington Centre, New Hampshire Grants, now Vermont. It was begun in the spring of 1763 and completed interiorly before the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. The Bennington Strict Congregational Church was organized from five distinct Separatist Churches from Massachusetts and Connecticut, December 3, 1762-1796.

of Connecticut, advocating the Baptist Creed of the missionary, the Rev. Obed Warren, founder of the "Warren Society" of Warren, Rhode Island, in 1767.

A later record states that: "The Church of Christ from Hardwick and the Church of Christ from Sunderland met together, and after prayers agreed upon and voted: 'That said Churches join together and become One Body or Church of Christ in Bennington.'"

^{*} The members of Hibbard's Strict Separatist Church united with Dewey's Bennington Centre Church in 1796.

The meeting-house plot and burial-field of three acres was laid out, and on May 9, 1763, it was voted to raise a tax of \$6.00 on each settling-lot in town amounting to \$384.00, to build a meeting-house, schoolhouse, mills, roads, and bridges. The meeting-house stood midway between the site of the present Congregational Church and Walloomsac Inn. It was 40 x 50 feet in size, with an added porch twenty feet square. The second story of the latter was used as a school-room. The building had three doors; the porch door faced east and led to the pulpit; and the north and south doors led to the centre aisle. A tier of square pews was laid out on each side of the centre aisle, with wall tiers in the rear. The pulpit was surmounted by an arched sounding board.

Although the meeting-house was begun in the early spring of 1763, the interior was not completed until previous to the Declaration of Independence. The first minister, Rev. Jedidiah Dewey from Westfield, Mass., was installed, August 14, 1763. The members of the Westfield Church and several Separatists from the Hardwick, Sunderland, and Old Norwich parishes united with the Bennington Church. Parson Dewey adopted the "New Light System" of Fathers Alexander Miller and Paul Park of the Plainfield and Preston Separate churches of Connecticut. Fathers Marshall and Palmer of the Canterbury and Windsor Separate churches of Connecticut were present at Dewey's installation. The original fifty-seven members¹ in 1763 included the names of thirty-two men and twenty-five women, as follows:

George Abbott
George Abbott, Jr.
James Breakenridge
William Breakenridge
David Doane

Jonathan Eastman
John Fassett
Daniel Fay
James Fay
James Fay, Jr.

¹ Isaac Jennings, *Memorials of a Century*, pp. 33-34.

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Elisha Field
Jacob Fisk
Benjamin Harwood
Eleazar Harwood
Zachariah Harwood
Aaron Leonard
Samuel Montague
Samuel Pratt
Jedidiah Rice
Oliver Rice
John Roberts

Martha Abbott
Rebecca Abbott
Pearce Atwood
Bethial Burnham
Elizabeth Fay
Lydia Fay
Mehitable Fay
Elizabeth Fisk
Bridget Harwood
Elizabeth Harwood
Martha Montague
Mercy Newton

Samuel Robinson
Silas Robinson
Joseph Safford
Simeon Sears
Jonathan Scott
Jonathan Scott, Jr.
Elijah Story
Stephen Story
Samuel Tubbs
Benjamin Whipple
Ichobod Stratton

Baty Pratt
Elizabeth Pratt
Hannah Rice
Experience Richardson
Elizabeth Roberts
Mercy Robinson
Ann Safford
Elizabeth Scott
Eleanor Smith
Sarah Story
Hepzibah Whipple
Prudence Whipple

Martha Wickwire

After the outbreak of the Revolution the military line separating the district of Capt. Elijah Dewey's West Company from that of Capt. Samuel Robinson's East Company ran north and south over Bennington Hill. Among the old historic homesteads of these districts may be mentioned Parson Dewey's Parsonage at the Centre, built in 1763, known to-day as the "E. H. Swift Place," the birthplace of Mrs. E. H. Swift in March, 1818. The Eldad Dewey Mansion, built in 1775 on West Main Street in Bennington, proved a refuge for settlers fleeing ahead of Burgoyne's

army on the rainy night of August 15, 1777, before the Battle of Bennington. One woman begged her husband to flee for safety, but he heroically replied that "she and his children would be better off if he were slain on the field than to have a coward for a husband and father." The reverse was also overheard when a man complained of a severe colic to his wife. Her woman's wit told her that it was not so much colic as cowardice, and she urged him bravely forward.

The Elnathan Hubbell Mansion was built in 1769. After the raising of the huge timbers, Parson Dewey proposed a wedding, and Joseph Rudd and Sarah Story knelt at the rude altar and were pronounced one. The Nathaniel Fillmore house stood near Hubbell homestead, where Nathaniel Fillmore, Jr., was born. He migrated to western New York in 1800 and became the father of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States in 1850. The Joseph Wickwire house stood on the site of the lodge house of James Colgate Park; the Phineas Scott house, built in 1776, still stands a mile west of the Battle Monument, occupied by the venerable granddaughters of the builder. The "Crosier Place," once the Benjamin Fay homestead, is now marked by poplar trees; and Lieut. Samuel Safford's homestead on Main Street in East Bennington is the residence of William R. Morgan, a lineal descendant of Deacon Joseph Safford of Bennington, Parson Cotton Mather of Boston, and Col. William Williams, "Father of Pittsfield" and founder of Bennington.

Isaac Tichenor of Newark, N. J. built his mansion on Mount Anthony Road, west of Capt. Elijah Dewey's Walloomsac Inn, in 1792, and his portrait still graces its parlor wall. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1775, and was, in 1777, Deputy Commissary of the Provincial Army under Capt. Jedidiah Williams of Williamstown, Mass. Owing to his elegant manners and fluent speech, he was known by

the Green Mountain Boys as the "Jersey Slick." He became a lawyer and was subsequently Governor of Vermont for ten successive years, dying in 1838 at the age of eighty-four. The bell in the old Congregational Church tower was presented in memory of Parson Absalom Peters, "Father of Home Missions," by the venerable Governor Tichenor before his death.

Gen. David Robinson's homestead, at the head of the Parade, was built in 1796, and descended to the late George Wadsworth Robinson—now the residence of his son and daughter. The mansion contains an invaluable collection of Revolutionary relics, including Col. Frederick Baum's sword and camp-kettle, together with the sword and continental hat worn by Gen. David Robinson during the Battle of Bennington.

Three out-lying districts in Bennington were settled previous to 1777, including "Irish Corners," now Riverside, at Henry's Bridge; Haviland's Mills, known later as "Sage's City," now North Bennington; and Safford's Mills, known later as Algiers and "Crow Town," now Bennington Village.

"Irish Corners" was settled in 1762 by the grandsons of the Scotch-Irish pioneers from Coleraine and Londonderry, who landed at Boston in 1718, including Lieut. William Henry, a kinsman of the patriotic Patrick Henry of Virginia, Lieut. James Breakenridge, the Hendersons, the Clarkes, and Col. Seth Warner. The Henry and Warner homesteads were raised on the same day in 1769; the Henry house was remodelled during 1797, and the Warner house burned fifty-four years ago; and Warner's farm is known as the "Gibbs's Place." The Breakenridge homestead stood a few rods east of the Warner house and descended to his grandson, John Breakenridge. He resided there until it burned, about 1884. The farm is known to-day as the Michael Leonard Place.

The Hoosac Valley

The hamlet of Haviland's Mills was settled by the Tory, Joseph Haviland. He owned a tract of the Walloomsac Patent, granted in 1739, which overlapped Bennington on New Hampshire Grants, considerably east of the Twenty-Mile Line to Haviland Brook, now Paran Creek in North Bennington. Haviland's grist-mill stood on the site of the present Paran Creek grist-mill, and his manorial homestead occupied the site between the residences of Franklin Scott and Albert Hathaway. About 1776, Moses Sage, a kinsman of Russell Sage, the late financier, and James Rogers settled in the hamlet. Young Sage married the Tory miller's daughter.

Before the Battle of Bennington, the Council of Safety sold all of Tory Haviland's manor at auction to Moses Robinson. He invited settlers after the Revolution, and sold the land to William Haviland, Moses Sage, and James Rogers. He signed their deeds "Robinson, Town of Bennington, Province of New York," until the Vermont Line was confirmed in 1812. The present Paran Creek grist-mill was built by Edward Welling in 1833, and Haviland's millstone, which on the day and night of August 16, 1777, was grinding corn for Stark's army, is now doing duty as window-caps on Welling's mill, facing the car line.

Moses Sage founded an iron forge near the site of Lyons's knitting mills, the first in Vermont, after which the hamlet of Haviland's Mills became known as "Sage's City." Iron ore was first mined at the foot of Shaftsbury Mountain. When this source of supply was exhausted, a new mine was located in Captain Shields's District in East Bennington and Woodford, where Moses Sage and his son-in-law, Giles Olin, set up a blast furnace, about 1804.

Shaftsbury was chartered by Gov. Benning Wentworth to several Rhode Island settlers in 1761, including Dr. Daniel Huntington, George Niles, and other staunch Whigs.

¹ Also Shaftsbury.

George Niles, parent of the White Creek Niles family, lived to be one hundred and fourteen years old. Upon his century birthday he took a scythe and mowed a swath in the meadow, after which he stood erect and said to his sons: "There, boys, is a pattern for you!" He was the local historian, and rich in legends of past generations. He descended from Old Jonathan and Dame Niles, the parents of fourteen sons, who settled in Braintree, Mass., in 1636. The Tory Elder, Benjamin Hough, first minister of the Shaftsbury Baptist Church, founded in 1768, was punished with the "Twigs of the Wilderness" after the Battle of Bennington and banished.

The First Baptist Church of Pownal Centre was founded by Rhode Island Whigs, and among the founders were Dr. Caleb Gibbs, Elder Benajah Grover, and others. Elder Caleb Nichols of the Exeter Separate Church was installed first minister in 1788; and Captain Ovitt built the meeting-house in 1789, remodelled as the Union Church to-day. Elder Nichols died in 1804, and upon his monument in the burial-field north of the church is inscribed:

Sacred to the memory of faithful service as a Minister
and Watchman over the First Baptist Church of Pownal.

The Scotch-Irish, led by Elder Freeborn Garretson, founded the First Methodist Episcopal Society in Bennington in 1792, although their meeting-house was not dedicated until 1833 by the Rev. Buel Goodsell. During 1834, Strict Congregationalism was disestablished in New England, and Deacon Joseph Hinsdill of the First Church of Bennington and several members of Calvin's Society separated from the Old Church and built the First Presbyterian Church at Hinsdillville in 1838, now owned by the Methodist Society.

Among the historic tavern stands of Bennington may be mentioned John Fassett's Tavern, built in 1762. Capt.

The Hoosac Valley

Elijah Dewey, eldest son of Parson Dewey, built the Walloomsac Inn in 1766. It is the oldest tavern to-day in Vermont and has been doing duty for over one hundred and forty-five years. Stephen Fay from Hardwick, Mass., also built



The Walloomsac Inn, built in 1766 by Landlord Elijah Dewey, eldest son of Parson Jedidiah Dewey, First Minister of the Old First Church, which stood east of Dewey's Inn. Landlord Dewey was Captain of the West Bennington Company in the Battle of Bennington. The Walloomsac Inn is the oldest inn to-day in Vermont. It has been doing duty as a tavern for over one hundred and forty-five years.

the Green Mountain Inn in 1766. It became a rallying place for Captain Fassett's Company of Green Mountain Boys, organized in 1764. On May 14, 1766, it was decided to lay out the Parade, and three acres were voted to widen Main Street between the First Church and Deacon Samuel Safford's Mansion, on the present site of Battle Monument Park. A huge catamount was stuffed and mounted twenty-five feet high on the sign-post of Fay's Green Mountain

Inn, and it became known as the famous "Catamount Tavern." The quaint hip-roofed building burned in 1871, and on its site now stands a granite pedestal, surmounted



The Harmon Inn, built by Sergt. Daniel Harmon before the Revolution. It is known as the "Old Yellow House" and is located two miles west of the Battle Monument, near New York Line. Gen. John Stark and his officers are reported to have breakfasted at Harmon's Inn on their march down the Walloomsac to meet Colonel Baum's Army, August 13, 1777.

by a bronze figure of a grinning catamount, facing westward toward the Yorkers.

The Hendrick Schneider Tavern on Schneider's Patent, New York, was built over two miles west of the site of the First Church of Bennington in the spring of 1762. Later Col. Samuel Herrick ran the place, and General Stark and his army encamped in the field east of Herrick's Inn, between August 9th and 13th, 1777, previous to the Battle of Bennington. Herrick's Tavern was later known as Dimmick's Stand, now

the site of the residence of Otis Warren, a descendant of Dr. John Warren, who married a granddaughter of Hendrick Schneider. The Harwood Tavern was built by Zachariah Harwood on the site of the Battle Monument, known later as Jonathan Robinson's State Arms House. It contained a "copious magazine" of the Provincial Army in 1777, guarded by Capt. Eli Nobles's Company of Pownal Boys. The Harmon Inn, known to-day as the "Old Yellow House," two miles west of the Battle Monument, was built by Sergt. Daniel Harmon before the Revolution. General Stark, August 13, 1777, breakfasted at this tavern on his march down the Walloomsac to his North Farm encampment. The gaping windows and front door reveal quaint fireplaces and a stairway unchanged except by ravages of time. The Walbridge homestead at Walbridgeville and Tory Matthews's State Line Tavern were built after the Revolution, about 1783. The portraits of Landlord Matthews and his wife formerly hung upon the parlor wall. They were loaned for an Historical Exhibition, and never returned to Charles B. Allen, the present proprietor of the place.

Several inns stood between Bennington Centre and Pownal Centre before the Revolution. Billings's Tavern was built by Maj. Samuel Billings on the Old Road south of The Poplars, known later as Lon Wagner's Inn and the "Old Yellow House" until it was burned a few years ago. The Brush Tavern, east of the site of Billings's Tavern, was built by Nathaniel Brush, colonel of the regiment of Vermont Volunteers. It is known to-day as the "Nichols Place," the residence of Samuel Jewett, owner of the serpentine Jewett Brook. The Mallery Tavern, a mile north of Pownal Centre Green, was built by Whittum Mallery and was subsequently known as the Timothy Munson Stand. The Pownal Centre Tavern, south of the First Baptist Church, now Union Church, is similar to Col. Benjamin Simonds's

River Bend Tavern in Williamstown. It was probably built by his son-in-law, Ithamar Clark. Here his son, "Billa" J. Clark, dispensed cider brandy over the bar to the Pownal bumpkins until he became disgusted with his occu-



The State Line Tavern built by the Tory Matthews about 1783 is located in three towns: White Creek and Hoosac in Rensselaer and Washington Counties in New York State; and the town of Shaftsbury in Bennington County in the State of Vermont. The historic inn is now the residence of Charles B. Allen, a lineal descendant of Gen. Ira Allen, nephew and adopted son of Ira Allen, Secretary of the famous Council of Safety held at the Catamount Tavern during the Revolution.

pation and studied medicine with Dr. Caleb Gibbs. He later moved to Moreau, N. Y., where, in 1801, he founded the first Temperance Society in the United States and later organized the Saratoga Medical Society, the first in the State of New York. The Clark Tavern was afterwards known as Willard Bates's Inn, now the Barber Thompson Place. The Daniel Kimball Inn, on the corner of the Centre and North Pownal roads, was built at a much later day and has been occupied by the successive town clerks for nearly three

quarters of a century. The Pownal Charter, signed by Governor Wentworth in 1760, is the most ancient document on file in the iron safe built into the fireplace of the south room of the inn.

A weekly letter post was established between Boston, Hartford, Salisbury, Williamstown, and Bennington as early as 1763, and Gov. Thomas Chittenden of Vermont organized a regular postal service between Albany and Boston to Bennington, Rutland, Newbury, Brattleboro, and Windsor in 1783 and 1784. Anthony Haswell came from Portsmouth, Eng., in 1756. He was appointed postmaster-general in 1784. The post-office was located on the present site of the Battle Monument, in the same building as the office of *The Vermont Gazette*, which he edited. The printer, Nathaniel Russell, issued the first copy of *The Vermont Gazette*, June 5, 1783. It was the first newspaper published in Vermont as well as in the Hoosac Valley, and Haswell's grandsons continued to publish the paper for sixty-seven years, until 1849, when it changed hands and was issued under its present title, *The Bennington Banner*.

Among the schools of Revolutionary days may be mentioned Clio Hall, incorporated November 3, 1780, and built on the corner south of the First Church. It was opened under the rectorship of Eldad Dewey, Jr., a grandson of Parson Jedidiah Dewey. The most distinguished pupil was Zephaniah Swift Moore, a son of Judah Moore of Wilmington, Vt. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1797 and became President of Williams College between 1815 and 1821. Clio Hall for boys burned in 1803. Elinor Read, a daughter of the famous missionary-author, Read, from Chelsea, Mass., opened a school for girls in 1802 in the house south of the Brick Academy. The Legislature in 1787 divided the towns of the Green Mountain State into school districts. At the opening of 1807 there were twenty-five grammar schools and

academies incorporated in Vermont, including the Scientific and Literary School established at North Bennington in 1805 by William S. Crandall, a graduate of Williams College. One of the distinguished pupils proved to be Col. Olin Scott of Bennington.

Safford's Mills, now Bennington Village, contained less than twenty buildings in 1804 between Eldad Dewey's house and Safford's Mill. The cabinet-maker, John Richmond, opened a shop and christened the settlement "Algiers." He had been a sailor on a trading vessel off the coast of Africa before the War of Algiers. Stark's Inn was built about the same time near Searls's tailor-shop and Stephen Pratt's house on Main Street and Captain Hill's Crow Tavern at Hunt Place. A maple grove occupied the banks of the Walloomsac, where crows assembled to hold their councils of safety, from which arose the name "Crow Town" for the hamlet. The Councils of Safety of the Green Mountain Boys met at Crow Tavern during the War of 1812 and until the close of the Civil War in 1865.

Thomas W. Trenor arrived in Bennington during 1811 and purchased the blast furnace and iron works of Moses Sage and Giles Olin. Sage moved to Western Pennsylvania and built the first blast furnace in that State. Trenor was originally a ship-builder in Dublin and treasurer of the Society of United Irishmen. He and other members were arrested, July, 12, 1798, at Oliver Bond's house on Lower Bridge Street, and lodged in Dublin Castle. All were hanged except Trenor, who made his escape disguised as a dead man in a coffin. After locating in Bennington he built his homestead in Furnace Grove, to-day known as the "Shield Place," and felled the forest about Camp Comfort and Trenor Meadow, in the Glastonbury and Woodford passes, to feed his yawning furnaces. The blacksmith, Captain Frye, Caleb More, Matthew and Zerah Scott settled later at "Trenor Mead-

ows." Woodford, although chartered in 1753, remained a dense forest dotted with lakes until Thomas W. Trenor and J. S. Hollister developed the iron, clay, and ochre industries at "Woodford City." Luther and Cynthia Pratt-Park were also among the first proprietors and named their son Trenor W. Park, after Thomas W. Trenor. He was destined to become a distinguished jurist in California, and accumulated a vast fortune. He returned later to his native Walloomsac Valley.

At the time the dam of the first furnace was built in "Woodford City," the horns of an elk weighing sixty pounds were unearthed, proving that at some remote period both elk and moose roamed through the Green Mountain passes, where now wander the deer.

After the advent of Trenor in Algiers Village in 1811 the population increased. The tailor, Faxon, opened a shop near Eldad Dewey's homestead; Captain Abell and Jos. Norton operated cider brandy distilleries, and the latter opened a pottery and manufactured churns, butter-jars, and other earthen wares. Sandford and Brown established the first foundry in the State, on the present site of Henry W. Putnam's grist-mill, and Buckley Squires built the stone blacksmith's shop still in use to-day.

After the outbreak of the War of 1812, the grandsons of the veterans of the Battle of Bennington faced the British at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. The cannonading was faintly heard by the Benningtonians in 1814, but the peace of the Walloomsac and Hoosac was not disturbed, and hostilities closed in 1815.

One of the oldest marked tombstones in English Hoosac is that of Jan C. N. Lon, located in the centre of the front tier of graves in the Pownal Centre Burial-field. He was buried in 1742, eighteen years before the town was chartered to the English in 1760. Lon was a Dutch burgher and

evidently a kinsman of Landlord Lon Wagner of Billings's Tavern.

In the Bennington Burial-field, east of the First Church, lies the historic dust of the founders of the Green Mountain Republic, including four of the governors: Moses Robinson, John Robinson, Isaac Tichenor, and Hiland Hall. Near the tomb of Isaac Tichenor is located the grave of John Van Der Speigal, the Dutch inventor of stoves and furnaces; and in the centre of the cemetery may be observed a granite pedestal reared by the Daughters of the Revolution to mark the last resting place of the wounded Hessian prisoners who died after the Battle of Bennington. The epitaph of Parson Jedidiah Dewey, first minister of Bennington, attracts the wonder of hero worshippers. He was a Shakespearean scholar, and his favorite and oft-quoted lines from a scene of *Richard II.*, were chiselled upon his tombstone:

Let 's talk of graves, of worms, and Epitaphs;
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.

CHAPTER XI

OLD HOOSAC FALLS AND PETERSBURGH NEIGHBORHOOD 1759-1815

The thousand changes that thicken along the links of recollection, throw back the origin of the nation to a day so distant as seemingly to reach the mists of time.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, *The Deerslayer*.

German Lutheran Church—Schneider Patent—Witchcraft—Col. Francis J. Van Pfister's White House Manor—Kreigger Rocks—Breese, Pool, and Fonda Neighborhood—Rensselaer's Mills—Little Hoosac—Nepimore—Mapleton—Falls Quequick—St. Croix—Pesth and Walloomsac Hamlets—Military Districts—Invasion of British, 1777—Town-Meetings, 1789—Inns—Slaves—Baptist, Methodist, and Adventist Churches—Petersburgh—Grafton—Berlin—Tibbits's Mansion of Hoosac—War of 1812—Militia.

AFTER the Fall of Quebec the Dutch Patroons of Hoosac and Rensselaerwyck rebuilt their manorial buildings and invited a mixed tenantry. The Brunswick Colony of German Lutherans, located in the Hoosacs' Lake District of Rensselaerwyck in 1760, included the staunch names: Benn, Coon, Clum, Cropsey, Cross, Frett, Fischer, File, Goeway, Hayner, Hardwick, Müller, Oothout, Van Arnam, Watson, and Quackenbosch.

Several of these Germans settled later about the junction of the Hoosac with the Little Hoosac, and they founded the first Lutheran Church¹ during the Revolution on the south-east corner of Hoosac Road, east of Petersburg Four Corners. The late Daniel Brimmer, as a child of seven, attended school in the old meeting-house in 1805, taught

¹ A Dutch Reformed Church.

by Mrs. Thurber and Miss Davis. Many unmarked graves were located around and beneath the church, all traces of which were levelled by the plough over half a century ago.

The Old Dutch Church remained the only place of public worship for the homesteaders of Hoosac and Rensselaerwyck until long after the War of 1812. The family Bible of Oldert Onderkirk of Fort Half-Moon, traditionally printed in 1636, descended to Jacob Onderkirk, occupying the farm, now known as the C.E. Stockwell Place, a mile north of the "White House Bridge." It is the oldest known Bible in Hoosac Valley, and half a century ago descended to Mrs. C. W. Brown of Hoosac Falls, a granddaughter of the Dutch burgher, Jacob Onderkirk, and the English pilgrim, Elijah Wallace.

Several Dutch and German tenants of Rensselaerwyck "squatted" in Pownal on N. H. Grants between 1724 and 1760, including: Hogg and Voseburgh (Vose) families on the site of Green Brimmer farm; Best on the Ichobod Paddock and Silas Eldred farms; Bastian Van Deel, Petrus Bovie, and Pitt Van Hogleboom later on the Voseburgh farm, known to-day as the Thomas Brownell Place near the State Line Bridge. Juria Kreigger settled north of Kreigger Rocks at North Pownal and built a grist-mill near the site of the Silas Paddock residence. The Van Norman, Westenhouse, and Varin families settled later in Kreigger neighborhood; and the Fischer, Anderson, and Young families located at Three Corners and "Weeping Rocks" farther up the valley.

Daniel Brimmer remembered Juria Kreigger in 1805 as a brick-burner and miller. In 1760, when Pownal was chartered to the English, Henry Young, Schorel Marters Watson, Long Andries, John Spencer, the Devoet and Van Arnam families resided east of the adopted New York Line in New England.

Hendrick Schneider (Snydër) of New Lebanon Flats, a part of Stephentown, N. Y., together with John Watteck, Hendrick

Lake, John Johnson, Garret Williamson, Nathaniel Archerly, Benjamin Abbott, William Taylor, Martinus Voorheres of New Jersey, and Daniel Hellenbeck of Albany, petitioned Governor De Lancey, July 8, 1761, for 10,000 acres lying east of Hoosac Patent, extending from Rensselaerwyck northward to the Walloomsac Patent. Schneider's Patent was confirmed by Lieut. Governor Colden, March 24, 1762, and Schneider proved the first settler. The Patent was bounded on the east by "other vacant lands," as Lieut. Governor Colden denied the validity of Governor Wentworth's charters of the English towns of Bennington and Pownal.

Upon the arrival of Capt. Seth Hudson, Gent., and other proprietors of Pownal, a meeting was held in June, 1760, when it was voted to grant the Dutch miller, Kreigger, "one right." His son, Hans Kreigger, died five years later, and the "intollerable inquisitiveness" and "unparalleled volluability" of the Rhode Island Baptists charged widow Kreigger with witchcraft. She was allowed the choice of two tests to prove her innocence. She could choose between climbing a tree or being immersed through the ice in the river. If upon felling the tree or upon sinking to the river bottom, she was not killed outright, she was promised her freedom. She chose the latter test as the safer and was finally recovered from drowning. The verdict of the Committee of Safety was that: "If widow Kreigger had been a witch, the powers infernal would have supported her." Her three sons, John, Peter, and William Kreigger, were invited by the Williamstown proprietors, October 15, 1767, to build a grist-mill near the junction of Hopper Brook with Green River. They intermarried with the Young and Deeming families and became members of the First Congregational Church of Williamstown.

After the close of the French and Indian War, many British officers and soldiers drew military grants. The Tory,

Francis J. Van Pfister,¹ commissioned a lieutenant in His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment of Foot, September 18, 1760, by Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, drew 2000 acres in Nepimore Vale. He built his "White House"² near the present site of Tibbits's lodge, west of the "White House Bridge." Several other officers received grants overlapping Bennington and Shaftsbury on the New Hampshire Grants.

Seventeen homesteaders of Hoosac and Rensselaerwyck manors resided between Van Pfister's "White House" and the junction of the Hoosacs in 1767. Jacob Onderkirk, a staunch Whig, resided a mile north of Tory Van Pfister's manor; and John Quackenbosch, Pieter Ostrander, William Helling, John Potter, John Palmer, Benjamin Walworth, Harper Rogers, John Ryan, Randall, James, and Samuel Cotterel resided on the east bank of the Hoosac, at Hoosac Four Corners and Mapleton. Johannes De Fonda, Jan Huyck, the Knott, Robert, and other families resided at the base of De Fonda Hill, east of Barnardus Bratt's Mansion, near the site of Petersburg Station; and the Van Derrick manor, half a mile south of Bratt's, was occupied by the Letchers', known later as Joseph Case Place, now the Edward Green estate.

The Breese and Pool neighborhood, known as Rensselaers' Mills during the Revolution, was located partly on Hoosac and partly on Rensselaerwyck manors. Henry Breese from Greenbush built the Old Red Store in 1766, opposite Cornelius Letcher's Tavern, now the site of Eldred's Inn. Other tenantry of the hamlet included: Hendrick Letcher, Johannes De Ruyter, Petrus and Hans Bachus, Johannes McCagg, Hans Lautman, Barent Hogg, Johannes George Brimmer, and Jacob Best.

¹ Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles*, p. 264.

² The White House Manor originally belonged to the Schuylers. It descended to Colonel Van Pfister, who married a daughter of the Schuylers.

Peter Simons, chief farm-master of Rensselaerwyck, Jacob O. Cropsey, and Godfrey Brimmer located on the upper Little Hoosac in Berlin about 1765. Brimmer built a log-



Eldred Inn, on the site of the Cornelius Letcher Tavern, where the first Town-Meeting of Petersburg was held, during Landlord Hezekiah Coon's proprietorship, in March, 1791. The Letcher Tavern was built about 1766, when the hamlet of Petersburg Four Corners was known as the Breese and Pool Neighborhood. During Revolutionary days it bore the designation of Rensselaers' Mills, until incorporated Petersburg in honor of Patroon Van Rensselaer's chief farm-master, Peter Simons, in 1791.

cabin and shingled it with bark. He used linen-tow and oiled paper for window panes and carpeted his earthen floor with moonshine and ferns. Simons's and Cropsey's farms occupied the present site of the Daniel Hull farm. Between 1767 and the Battle of Bennington, Peter Simons's Road led over Cherry Plains to the Patroons' Mills at East Greenbush. At that time the Milk, Berry, and Douglass families resided in the neighborhood, and the Tory, Reuben

Bonesteel, and his six sons, three of whom were Whigs, located near Godfrey Brimmer's farm in Berlin Hollow.

Daniel Hull and Paul Braman arrived in 1770 from Connecticut, and were the first English settlers in Little Hoosac. They were followed by Joseph Green in Green Hollow, a descendant of the Quaker, Gen. Nathaniel Green of Warwick, R. I., who drove the British from Boston; Colonel Bentley, Thomas Sweet, Daniel and James Dennison, Nathaniel Niles, Peleg Thomas, Simeon Himes, Joseph Whitford, and William Satterlee—pastor of the Seventh Day Baptist Church—and Dr. John Forbes.

The Breese and Pool neighborhoods of Rensselaers' Mills were settled by Presbyterians, Baptists of the Warren Society, and Adventists of the Hopkinton Society, including: Simeon Odell, Tory Dayfoot and his six sons in East Hollow, Stanton Bailey, Abraham and Augustus Lewis in Lewis Hollow, William Reynolds, Ichobod Prosser, Stephen Card, Gideon Clark, William Hiscox, Joseph Allen, James Weaver, and others. After the Battle of Bennington Patroon Van Rensselaer built a grist-mill on the site of the present mill in South Petersburg, and another half a mile above the junction of the Hoosacs on the Alvin Brimmer farm in North Petersburg.

The Cornelius Letcher Tavern on the site of the Eldred Inn, and John Woodburn Tavern on the site of William Reynolds's residence, were the famous hostelries of the North Village of Rensselaers' Mills during the Revolution. An inn on the site of the Aaron Worthington Tavern in the South Village, and the Daniel Hull Tavern in Little Hoosac, now Berlin, proved the headquarters for the Little Hoosac militia.

The Rensselaer and Hoosac military districts were organized, March 24, 1772. The boundary between Old Hoosac and Old Cambridge military districts in Walloomsac Valley remained indefinite until after the organization of the town-

ships in 1789. The Scotch-Irish settlers of St. Croix, Pesth, Walloomsac, and Falls Quequick in Hoosac District included: Deacons Waldo and Goff, Maj. John Potter, Ephraim James, Samuel Clarke, John McClung, George Duncan, William Gilmore, William Eager, William Selfrage, Samuel Ball,



The Old Red Mill of Little Hoosac Valley. The Mill is located midway between the North and South villages of Petersburgh, and was probably built during the Second Revolutionary days of 1812.

John Scott, David Sprague, Seth Chase, John Harrow, Thomas McCool, Simeon Fowler, John Young, Josiah Dewey, John Rhodes, and the Buell and Beebe families.

In 1772, Elder William Waite and Deacons Waldo and Goff from Rhode Island founded the First Baptist Church at Waite's Corners near St. Croix. The members included: Samuel Hodge, Peter Sur Dam, Obadiah and Levi Beardsley, Isaac Bull, Mr. Biglow, Francis Bennett, Simeon Sweet, Thomas Sickles, and John Corey. The latter was a soldier

at Fort Massachusetts and a lineal descendant of the Baptist Elder, William Corey, of London, known as the "Father of British Foreign Missions," and founder of a Christian colony in India in 1798. Deacons Waldo and Goff objected to the tune of *Old Hundred* and in 1805 moved to the Ohio Valley to found a new church and sing new tunes.

The Nepimore Vale, now known as "Shingle Hollow," was first settled by the hunter-scout, Joseph Guile, Samuel Stillwell, Thomas Brown, David Case, Jonathan Mosely, and Silas Harrington. Once a Schaghticoke warrior attempted to scalp Guile, but lost his own life. Guile died in 1809, the same year that Nathaniel Bumppo-Schipman, known as the hunter-scout, "Leather-Stocking," died at Falls Quequick. Guile's grave by the roadside near the site of his log cottage is marked by two moss-grown boulders.

The Falls Quequick manor of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, New York City, contained a tract seven miles long by three and a half miles wide, having The Falls as its centre. The course of Hoosac Falls forms a perfect letter "S," as the river descends through the rocky gorge originally adorned with pine and oak. Augustus Van Cortlandt and Augustus Van Horne, heirs of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, leased Jonathan Fuller the first farm on the manor in 1772 for twenty-one years. Isaac Turner and Joel Abbott from New London, Ct., later located at The Falls and opened a store and blacksmith shop. Fuller's farm contained two hundred and twenty acres on the east bank. It began at a marked birch tree below The Falls and extended south to a point near J. R. Parsons's residence. It covered the site of the present village of Hoosac Falls.

Jonathan Fuller died in 1790 and the sea-captain, Henry Northrup from Rhode Island purchased his farm. Fuller's log house still stood on the north end of his farm near the site of C. A. Cheney's residence, when Captain Northrup

built his log house on the hill overlooking Falls Quequick. A lane, opening near the site of Wood's Block, lead to Captain Northrup's cottage. He died in 1797 and the "God's Acre" of Fuller and Northrup proved the first burial-field within the limits of Hoosac Falls Village. Judge Levi Chandler Ball purchased the Northrup Farm in 1833 and recorded in his *Annals of Hoosac* that he found several unmarked graves, fruit trees, and stone walls near the site of Fuller's and Northrup's dwellings. At the opening of 1800, Henry Barnhart also owned two hundred and fifty acres on the east bank of Hoosac Falls, west of the present Main Street.

The patroons of Dutch Hoosac manorlands during the Revolution included: Stephen Van Rensselaer of Rensselaerwyck, born in New York City in 1764; Barnardus Bratt, known as the "Patroon of Hoosac"; Augustus Van Cortlandt and Augustus Van Horne of Falls Quequick; Garret Cornelius Van Ness of St. Croix, and Philip Van Ness of Tioshoke. Their sons and daughters inherited thousand-acre farms, located along both banks of the Hoosac, between the Owl Kill and the headwaters of Little Hoosac. Young Stephen Van Rensselaer's Manor of Rensselaerwyck was superintended by chief farm-master, Peter Simons, until the "Anti-Rent War" and the adoption of the Federal Constitution and township system in New York. Barnardus Bratt left four sons and two daughters: Daniel B. and Garret Tunisson Bratt, located on farms at Hoosac Four Corners; Johannes Bratt at Buskirk Bridge; and Henry Bratt in Albany. Maria Bratt married Robert Lotteridge of Falls Quequick, and Elizabeth Bratt married her cousin, John Bratt, of Petersburg Junction. Mrs. Samuel Gardner,¹ a lineal descendant of the "Patroon of Hoosac," resides on the Bratt homestead, although the Patroon's colonial Dutch-roofed

¹ Granddaughter of Daniel B. Bratt.



Family Bible of Patroon Cornelius Van Ness of St. Croix Manor, inherited by Edgar P. Ladd, of Salem, New York, a lineal descendant of the Patroon of St. Croix.

barns, located opposite the Gardner Mansion, burned a few years ago. The portraits of the Patroon Daniel B. Bratt and his wife, still hang on the parlor wall in the Gardner Mansion and in the "God's Acre" near by lies the unmarked dust of the founders of Dutch Hoosac hamlet of 1732.

The St. Croix Manor was occupied by four generations, descended from Patroon Van Ness, between 1724 and 1818. The homestead is now owned by Nicholas Hathaway—a grandson of Peter Gooding, a lineal descendant of Garret Cornelius Van Ness. The will of Cornelius Van Ness, son of the elder patroon, bears date, August 25, 1791, and he left the Van Ness Bible to his daughter, Sarah Van Ness, later the wife of Jacob Van Valkenburgh of Hoosac. It contains a "Memorandum of the Birth and Dying Days" of the Van Ness and Valkenburgh families. Alida Van Woerd—Van Ness, wife of Patroon Cornelius Van Ness, died, May 24, 1778, thirteen and a half years before himself. They left five sons and one daughter: Garret, Jacob, Johannes, Peter, Hendrick, and Sarah Van Ness. The Van Ness Bible descended to Edgar P. Ladd from his aunt, Sarah Van Valkenburgh, the seventh daughter of Sarah Van Ness—Van Valkenburgh. Edgar P. Ladd is a grandson of Henrietta Van Valkenburgh, fourth daughter of Sarah Van Ness and wife of Samuel Coon. Their daughter, Mary Coon, married Hiram Ladd and became the mother of Edgar P. Ladd of Salem, N. Y.

After the firing of the first guns in the Battle of Lexington, Daniel Hull of Little Hoosac organized two companies of militia: one remained posted at Hull's Tavern in North Berlin and the other was engaged in active service. Several Tories resided in Dutch Hoosac. Lieut. Joseph Rudd¹ of Bennington, in a letter dated after the Battle of Bennington, records that "the greater part of Dutch Hoosac" joined

¹ See Note 22 at end of volume.

Peter's Corps of Loyalists under Col. Francis J. Van Pfister, posted at the Tory breastwork on Van Pfister's Hill. Capt. Samuel Anderson of Pownal rallied a Tory Company, including Petrus Bovie, Bastian Van Deel, Francis Hogle, "Gad" Gardner, and others residing along the disputed Twenty-Mile Line between New York and the New Hampshire Grants.

Patroons Van Ness, Van Rensselaer, and Barnardus Bratt left their manors in charge of faithful Negro slaves while their families removed to Albany during August, 1777. Two of Van Ness's slaves possessed both the Whig and Tory flags while guarding their master's wheat fields at St. Croix. They claimed that they could distinguish a Tory from a Whig as soon as they came into view, and so they hoisted whichever colors the occasion demanded.

The Committee of Public Safety remained the "Beach-Seal Court" of Hoosac Valley for ten years after the Battle of Bennington, until plain Jonathan Smith of "Constitution Hill," Lanesboro, Mass., on the upper Hoosac, brought about the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788, through his speech to Congress. The first town-meeting of Hoosac took place on March 4, 1789, and the following officers were elected:

Thomas Sickles *Supervisor*

Zachariah Sickles *Town Clerk*

| | | |
|---|---|------------------|
| Jacob Van Ness Henry Breese Nicholas Snyder (Schneider) Reuben Thayer Isaac Bull John Johnson Zachariah Sickles | } | <i>Assessors</i> |
|---|---|------------------|

Henry Brown *Collector*

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Thomas Sickles | } | <i>Overseers of the Poor</i> |
| William Kerr | | |
| Nicholas Snyder | | |
| Henry Brown | } | <i>Constables</i> |
| Squire Reed | | |
| Henry Walker | | |
| Samuel Latham | | |
| James Williamson | } | <i>Fence-viewers</i> |
| Henry Snyder | | |
| John Van Buren | | |
| Henry Breese | | |
| John Van Ness | | |
| Zachariah Sickles | | |
| Godfrey Stark | | |
| Ansel Gray | } | <i>Pound-keepers</i> |
| Squire Reed | | |
| Harper Rogers | | |
| Timothy Graves | | |
| Benjamin Waite | } | <i>Path-masters</i> |
| John Millman | | |
| Samuel Latham | | |
| John Ryan | | |
| Anthony Van Sur Dam | | |
| Garret Van Horne | | |
| Isaac Lansing | | |
| Daniel Rogers | | |
| John Bowie | | |
| Godfrey Stark | | |
| Jonathan Case | | |
| Ezekiel Hodge | | |
| Jonathan Moasby (Mosely) | | |
| William Briggs | | |
| William Mellen, Jr. | | |
| David Brown | | |
| John Johnson | | |
| Luke Frink | | |

The first post-office of Hoosac was opened in 1783 at "Hoosick 4 Corners Inn," and a branch office was soon established at Falls Quequick, in Seth Parsons's machine-shop. Andrew Parsons, his ten-year-old-son, became the first mail-carrier. He took his oath of office by kissing the Old English Reader, owing to the scarcity of Bibles.

After the adoption of the town-meeting government, better roads, bridges, and district schoolhouses were built. Among the historic covered bridges may be mentioned the State Line Bridge of the Hoosac Pass; the Little Hoosac Bridge at Petersburg Four Corners; the White House Bridge on the the Nepimore Post Road, west of Hoosac Four Corners; Old Rainbow Bridge, a mile above Falls Quequick—later replaced by the Hoosac Falls Bridge, built by J. Russell Parsons in 1791; the St. Croix Bridge over the Little White Creek on Old Cambridge Turnpike; the Eagle Toll-Bridge; and Buskirk Bridge over the Hoosac near the junction of the Owl Kill.

Dr. Thomas Hartwell from New London, Ct., in 1778 was the first doctor to settle at Falls Quequick. He built his homestead, known as the Melina Wells Place, and later founded the first Federal Lodge, No. 33, of the Order of Free Masons,¹ in 1793. Twelve years later he moved to the Ohio Valley. Dr. Salmon Moses of Norfolk, Ct., meanwhile settled at Rensselaer Mills, now Petersburg; and Dr. Aaron Drake Patchin from New Lebanon, N. Y., arrived at Falls Quequick in 1799. Dr. Salmon Moses entered Dr. Patchin's office in 1818 and succeeded to his practice, while his brother assumed charge of his Rensselaer Mills office in Little Hoosac Valley. During the same time Dr. Hugh Richey located at St. Croix

¹ As early as December 20, 1767, Henry Andrew Francken, deputy grand inspector-general of masonry in North America, constituted Col. Francis J. Van Pfister of Hoosac, and Thomas Swords, Thomas Lynatt, and Richard Cartwright of Albany, into a Regular Lodge of Perfection known as the "Ineffable."

and leased a farm from Cornelius Van Ness. The bond, with the signatures of both Dr. Richey and Patroon Van Ness, is now owned by Edgar P. Ladd of Salem, N. Y.

After the Revolution public inns stood about a mile apart on the Post Road throughout Hoosac Valley. Among the licensed landlords of Dutch Hoosac between March 4, 1789, and 1800 may be named, William Roberts, Jr., Godfrey Stock, Jacob Van Ness, Daniel Kimball, Henry Brown, Benona Burton, Daniel Van Rensselaer, Thomas Sickles, Jonathan Twiss, John Bovie, Caleb Hill, Thomas Ford, Henry Van Broock, Freelove Aylesworth, Dan Lyon, John Potter, Reuben Baldwin, besides Esquires Jacob Van Valkenburgh, Daniel Bratt, John Mattison, Norris Pearce, Joseph Ellsworth, William McCoy, Samuel Crary, and Philip Haynes.

Noble's Tavern of Falls Quequick was built in 1794 by Daniel and Sylvester Noble from West Stockbridge, Mass. It burned later and Cornelius Van Vechten built the Phoenix Hotel on its site in 1805, run by Landlord Ezra Sackett. The inn burned again and the site is now occupied by Wood's Block. The Nobles and their kinsman, Reuben Baldwin, later purchased Isaac Turner's store and Joel Abbott's blacksmith shop and ashery. Daniel Noble was a justice of the peace and once fined a hunter three shillings for breaking the Sabbath. He also sentenced a man for swearing to an hour in the Pillory or Stock, located on the corner of Main and Water streets, opposite the site of Noble's Tavern. The ancient whipping-post was the venerable tree located on the late Walter Abbott Wood's lawn, opposite Parsons's residence. Here the constable, Godfrey Eddy, of Pittstown, on January 27, 1794, bared the back of a thief and administered twelve stripes with the "Twigs of the Wilderness."

Slavery in Dutch Hoosac had in 1802 reached its lowest depth of degradation. In that year the Albany Legislature

passed an act requiring all slave owners to record the births of illegitimate children of their slaves. John Palmer on March 30, 1802, recorded before the justice that: "He had the 3d day of May last a male child, born of his black servant girl, named Dick." Jacob Ford on February 24, 1803, acknowledged the birth of a female colored child, born May 25, 1802, named Lucretia Benjamin; Henry Van Ness on March 22, 1802, certified that: "Gin, his black or African slave, had a female child born in his house on the 30th day of June, 1801, named Betty." Gin deserted her master and settled in North Adams on the upper Hoosac. The Overseers of the Poor recorded several births among their slaves before New York abolished slavery in 1827.

After the victorious campaign of 1777, several churches were organized and built in Dutch Hoosac, including the Baptist Church of the "Warren Society" at Mapleton, two miles west of "Hoosick 4 Corners Inn," March 16, 1785. The Tory Elder, Benjamin Hough, first minister of the Shaftsbury Baptist Church of Vermont, preached frequently in Hoosac until 1797, in which year Elder Samuel Rogers was regularly installed. Deacons John Ryan, Benjamin Walworth, Samuel Burrell, Joseph Dorr, and Sylvester Noble later organized the Baptist Church of Falls Quequick. It was built among the pines, in the south end of the village, in 1804 and is still doing duty, although much enlarged. Elder David Rathburn was installed as regular pastor in 1805. The Up-River Methodist Church, on the right bank of the Walloomsac, near Battle-field Park, was founded April 16, 1811, by Elder William Lake, Thomas Skeel, John Matthews, Benjamin Barnet, Isaac Mosher, Thomas Millman, Simeon Sweet, and John Comstock.

In the Little Hoosac Valley of Rensselaerwyck Manor, William Coon welcomed John Burdick and other brethren of the "Hopkinton Society" from Framingham, Ct., at Joseph

Carpenter's home, and on September 24, 1780, founded the Seventh Day Baptist or Adventist Church, of which Elder Coon was installed pastor. The Baptist Church of the "Warren Society" was organized at Little Hoosac, now Berlin, in 1784, and Justus Hull was installed pastor. At an equally early day several Germans built a Lutheran Church in South Berlin and Dominje Voedder was installed pastor. The present Baptist and Methodist churches of Petersburg were organized after the close of the War of 1812.

At Little Hoosac, Caleb Bentley built the first grist-mill and Amos Sweet the first saw-mill and blacksmith shop; and Manus Griswold, John Reeve, Joel Mallery, and Joseph Hastings opened the first stores. The first taverns included those of Daniel Hull, James Main, Simeon Odell, Dr. Burton Hammond, Nathaniel Niles, John Rhodes, and Nelson Henderson. Among the doctors may be mentioned Job Tripp, Peter Olds, Henry Brown, Emerson Hull, Ebenezer Robinson, and Joseph Thompson Skinner.

During the "Anti-Rent War," the Rensselaerwyck tenantry of Little Hoosac agreed to announce the advance of the sheriff of the manor by blowing a dinner-horn, as a signal to the "Indian Boys'" militia of the Committee of Public Safety. In instances of false alarm, it is reported that the fictitious "Indians" ate up the farmers' dinner in true savage style.

After the Revolution Maj.-Gen. Aaron Worthington built the tavern of Rensselaer Mills, still standing in South Petersburg, north of the Baptist Church. Although he had served during the War of 1812, he won his military title during general training days of the State militia, after the close of hostilities. He became first postmaster of Petersburg in 1822 and the post-office was located at his inn.

The first town-meeting of Rensselaer Mills was held in March, 1791, at Hezekiah Coon's Inn, built by Cornelius



Tibbitts's Castle of Nepimore Vale, Hoosac, N. Y., built by George Mortimer Tibbitts, eldest son of Senator George Tibbitts.

Letcher in the North Village about 1766. Rensselaer Mills was organized as the Town of Petersburg, and christened in honor of Peter Simons, chief farm-master and the largest land-holder of Rensselaerwyck in Little Hoosac Valley. The upper Little Hoosac neighborhood was organized as Berlin in 1812, although official town records were not kept until about 1850.

West of Petersburg lies the hilly town of Grafton, in the Hoosacs' Lake District, known as the "Fisherman's Paradise," containing Lake Taconac, Lake Babcock, and Long Pond. The region was first settled by Abel Owens from Rhode Island about 1786. He was presented with a farm of two hundred acres by Patroon Van Rensselaer, and was joined by "Honest" John Babcock and other Baptists about Lake Babcock, including Elkanah Smith, Joshua Banker, William Scrivens, the Coon, Demmon, Wells, Wilcox, West, Burdick, Lewis, and Rogers families. Justus Hull organized the First Baptist Church of Grafton and the present tavern and grist-mill of Grafton Centre were built by Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer in 1838, at a cost of \$80,000, and the centre of the town is known as Patroons' Mills to-day.

At the opening of 1780, George Tibbits, a son of John Tibbits of Warwick, R. I., who first settled on a farm in Cheshire on the upper Hoosac, moved down the Hoosac to Lansingburgh, where at the age of seventeen, through the financial aid of the importer, Francis Atkinson, he became a dry-goods merchant. In 1800 George Tibbits purchased Col. Francis J. Van Pfister's "White House Manor" of Nepimore, in Dutch Hoosac, and was elected a member of the Albany Assembly and Senator of the Eastern District of New York during Gov. De Witt Clinton's term of office, between 1815 and 1820.

The "White House Manor" descended to George Mortimer Tibbits, eldest son of George Tibbits. He built a brick

mansion, remodelled in 1860 into the present, brown, free-stone Gothic castle, now owned by his son, Le Grand Tibbits. The quaint architecture of Tibbits Gothic castle and the park-enfolded slopes of Nepimore Vale distinguish it as the finest manor in the Hoosacs' Valley of Mingling Waters. Here, George Mortimer Tibbits (if one excepts the time he spent in travel in England, France, Germany, and Italy) passed his entire life, collecting treasures of art and a valuable French library, until his death in 1878. He imported a large herd of Teeswater Durham cattle and at one time owned the largest flock of Saxony sheep in America. The German, H. De Grove, first imported Saxony sheep to Hoosac during 1820. Bucks at that time sold as high as \$500. In 1845 there were 56,000 Saxony sheep grazing on the Hoosac hillsides. Hoosac and North Adams became a wool-growing centre in 1829 and the finest cheviots, merinos, and cashmeres were manufactured by Briggs Brothers until 1884 at the historic "Linwood Mills" at North Adams.

After the opening of the Stone Post Road between Albany and Bennington in 1791, Hezekiah Munsell, Sr., became the first postmaster, followed by Dr. Asher Armstrong from Taunton, Mass. The latter was postmaster until his death in 1832. Hezekiah Munsell, Jr., and Dr. Prosper Armstrong founded the first public library in Hoosac in 1825. Dr. Asher Armstrong in 1796 built his homestead on South Main Street, known to-day as Betsey Hawks's house, owned by Edward Hawks of North Adams, a lineal descendant of Sergt. John Hawks of Fort Massachusetts fame. The famous doctors of Hoosac included the names of Simeon Curtiss, Murray Hall, and John Warren; and the leading lawyers included the names of Reuben Walworth, George Rex Davis, Hezekiah Munsell, Jr., Lorenze Sherwood, James W. Nye, John Fitch, and Judge Levi Chandler Ball.

The Hoosac Valley

During the War of 1812 the first volunteers of Hoosac to join Brig.-Gen. Gilbert Eddy's "Expedition" against the British at Plattsburgh in 1814 included:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| John Haynes | Talman Chase |
| Capt. Lemuel Sherwood | Benjamin Sweet |
| Benjamin Baker | Ensign John Hallenbeck |
| Stephen Chapman | Solomon Wilson |
| Garret Hallenbeck | Clark Baker |
| Job Case | Jacob Height |
| Jacob Van Denburgh | Sergeant Watkins |
| Mr. Onderkirk | |

William Coon, Justus Hull, and Aaron Worthington were among the military leaders of Little Hoosac Valley. Capt. Sylvanus Danforth lead the Pownal company, while the Berkshire and Bennington companies were not behind in rallying at the Old Finney Tavern Stand in Pittstown, previous to Eddy's march to Plattsburgh.

During those days the "HOOSICK 4 CORNERS TAVERN" became headquarters for central Hoosac Boys' militia. The town in 1812 contained three companies, including Capt. Thomas Osborne's Artillery, Capt. Abram Keach's Infantry, Capt. Nathaniel Bosworth's Cavalry, and a volunteer company of Minute Men, headed by Capt. George Rex Davis, a son of the patriotic Welshman who deserted Burgoyne's British home-ranks on their march through Hoosac Pass to Boston in October, 1777.

CHAPTER XII

OLD SCHAGHTICOKE AND OLD CAMBRIDGE DISTRICTS 1759-1815

*Our Indian rivulets,
Wind mindful still of sannup and of squaw,
Whose pipe and arrow oft the plough unburies,
Here, in pine houses, built of new-fallen trees,
Supplanters of the tribe, the farmers dwell.*

EMERSON.

Protestant Dutch Church—Knickerbacker Mansion—Pittstown and Cambridge Patents—Military Districts—Burgoyne's Invasion, 1777—Tory Out-Posts—Massacre of Maj. Derrick Van Vechten—Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterian Churches—Town-Meetings, 1789—Inns—Slaves—Burial-Fields—Academies—Festivities at Knickerbacker "Hostead."

THE Knickerbacker tenantry of Old Schaghticoke Manor avoided the English settlers, and it is said that a line of neutrality ran north and south through Hart's Falls, separating their social domains. The aggressive spirit of the Friesland aristocracy against the English Pilgrims was partly dissipated through intermarriage and constant migration before the close of the Revolution. The Connecticut and Green Mountain Boys managed to marry the Dutch patroons' daughters, and their grandsons have inherited their Hoosac Manors, where their descendants still reside.

The "Great Lots" 28, 39, 40, 41, and 42 of Hoosac Patent, were located in the limits of Schaghticoke township. The village lies in the "Eastermost half of Lot 41," drawn chiefly by Philip Van Ness, an heir of Jan Van Ness; and lots 28

and 39 were drawn by John B. Van Rensselaer, heir of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. In 1765, he sold lot 39 and half of the mill-lot 28 to Simon Toll of Fort Schenectady. Ten years later Toll disposed of his interest in the mill-lot to his son, Charles Toll, and during 1793 he sub-divided the lot into farms and sold them to the English and Scotch-Irish. The Tioshoke Manor of Philip Van Ness, on the north bank of Hoosac River, contained 4000 acres and was two miles in width. It extended from Hart's Falls up the Hoosac to the junction of the Owl Kill. Chief farm-master, Thomas Wittebeck, built a saw-mill and grist-mill near the junction of Gordon's Brook with the Hoosac at Tioshoke Village. These were the first mills in the Cambridge District.

The Dutch meeting-house of Old Schaghticoke was torn down in 1760 and replaced by a frame edifice, the first in Hoosac Valley. It was modelled after the Dutch Church of Albany, and was 40 x 60 feet, with a low side wall surmounted by a high-pitched, mansard roof and bulbous turret, topped by a brass weather-cock. The pulpit stood on a high pedestal beneath a huge sounding board, and the hour-glass on a side bracket pointed out the length of the sermon to the nodding burghers. The sacred desk was graced by the family Bible of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, which was printed in Holland during 1741. Below the pulpit stood the *voor-lieser's* (clerk's desk) and in front of that stood the quaint communion table. The Bible and hand *Kerk-klockje* (church-bell) descended to the late Col. William Knickerbacker of the colonial mansion east of the "Ho-
stead."

The dominie's parsonage was built about 1770 east of the Tomhannac Creek Bridge. An "Indenture," dated July 4, 1767, records that "Yocob Viele conveyed the premises to the 'Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Protestant Dutch Church of the City of Albany' . . . 'for Divers Good



The "Hostead" of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 1st, Manor of Old Schaghticoke. The Manson was built by Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, in 1770, and the huge Dutch-roofed barns after the Revolution.

causes and Consideration' . . . 'but more especially for and in consideration of Five Shillings current money of New York.'"

Dominie Eilardus Westerlo preached quarterly at Old Schaghticoke Church between 1759 and the installation of



The Family Bible of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, printed in Holland in 1741. The Hand-bell was used to call the burghers of the Vale of Peace to service at the Old Dutch Church. It is undoubtedly the first church-bell used at the first frame church built in Hoosac Valley during Colonial Days.

the venerable Elias Van Bunschooten in 1773. After the opening of the Revolution in New York City, the Dutch Reformed missionaries, Dominie Lambertus De Ronde and his wife, Margareta Catharine De Sandra-De Ronde, purchased the Johannes De Wandlaer homestead, a mile north of the Knickerbacker Mansion, and aided Dominie Van Bunschooten.

Colonel Knickerbacker, 2d, owned a large staff of Negro slaves, including Tom Mandolin, who received his surname because of his ability to play the mandolin. Uncle Tom

was never able to master addition and subtraction. He was stationed at the gateway of the sheepfold by his master to count the sheep as they were turned out to the pasture. He began: "One, two, three," but could not go farther, and continued to exclaim: "Massa, there goes a'nudder, a'nudder, and a'nudder," until it was discovered that the whole flock had departed.

Uncle Tom delighted to sit in the chimney corner with his mandolin during the long winter evenings and entertain the Knickerbacker boys and their friend, Washington Irving. He recounted the Mahican legends of St. Croix, "Weeping Rocks," and the witch stories of Kreigger Rocks and the massacres of Schaghticoke Plains and Spook Hollow. He was familiar with the mysterious pilgrimages of Queen Esther and her maidens from St. Regis to the Hoosacs' burial-field, and the adventures of Col. Ethan Allen and his "Minute Men," including Ignace Kipp and John J. Bleecker of Tomhannac.

Pittstown Patent comprised the valley of Tomhannac Creek, south to Rensselaerwyck. It was granted on July, 23, 1761, to six proprietors including Shepherd, Clark, Sawyer, Schuyler, De Peyster, and Van Cortlandt. The north line of Pittstown to-day follows the centre of Hoosac River. Among the proprietors of Pittstown, after the first town-meeting took place in 1789, may be named:

Augustus Van Cortlandt
Alexander Thompson
Benjamin Aiken
Edmund Aiken
Isaac Van Hoosen
Teunis Van Derwerker
Sybrant Quackenbosch
Joshua Babcock
Samuel Rowland

William Prendergast
Stephen Hunt
Christian Fischer
Joseph Tanny
Samuel Livingston
Thomas Hicks
Pennel Bacon
Cornelius Wiley
Michael Van Dercook

Michael Van Dercook built the Cooksboro Mills, James Mallery taught the Buskirk District School, James Purdy ran a blacksmith shop, and Samuel Osborne a shoe-shop.

Cambridge Patent at first comprised 30,000 acres in the Owl Kill and White Creek intervalles, granted on July 21, 1761, to Isaac Sawyer, Edmund Wells, Jacob Abraham Lansing, Alexander Colden, William Smith, and Goldsboro Bangor. After the first town-meeting in 1789, Philip Van Ness's Tioshoke Manor on the north bank of Hoosac, containing 4000 acres, was placed under the jurisdiction of the town of Cambridge and later inherited by the patroon's four daughters.

The first settlers of Cambridge included thirty Scotch-Irish families from Coleraine in Old Berkshire, including Col. Absalom Blair, Jeremiah Clarke, George Duncan, Capt. George Gilmore, Maj. James Cowden, Ephraim Cowan, David Harrow, William Clarke, John Scott, Thomas Morrison, and others. Each received a farm of one hundred acres, located on the banks of the Owl Kill, if he settled upon it within three years after the patent was granted. Maj. James Cowden built the first log-tavern, on the site of his "Checkerred House," which still stands.

Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, in 1770, completed his brick mansion in Old Schaghticoke and invited the Albany mayor and council to a feast. He bargained with the merry councillors for Schaghticoke Manor, containing six miles square, and secured it for less than \$1000. He agreed, however, to entertain the successive "Gentlemen of Albany" with "Meat, Drink, and lodging once a Year" at his "Hestead" in Old Schaghticoke. Two years later, on March 24, 1772, Albany County was sub-divided into Schaghticoke and Cambridge military districts. The former comprised Colonel Knickerbacker's Schaghticoke Manor and the Pittstown patent, and the latter, the Philip Van Ness Tioshoke



The Owl Kill of Cambridge Valley. The Owl Kill Trail was the famous War-path of America during the French and Indian Wars as well as during the Revolutionary Wars.

Manor; and Cambridge Patent now comprised in Cambridge, White Creek, and Jackson townships.

The Cambridge Council of Safety sent John Younglove, Samuel Ashton, Simeon Carel, Jeremiah Clarke, and John Millington as delegates to the Albany council of war on May 10, 1775, the same day that Col. Ethan Allen captured Fort Ticonderoga.

Upon the advance of Burgoyne's British army down the Hudson in August, 1777, the mixed tenantry of the Schaghticoke and Hoosac manors removed to Albany, Williamstown, and Stockbridge. Ann Eliza Schuyler-Bleecker, in her *Memoirs*, published in 1795, records that her husband, John J. Bleecker, was in Albany looking for quarters for his family, when a false alarm of an advance of Burgoyne's Indian scouts spread terror among the tenantry of the "Vale of Peace." Mrs. Bleecker caught her babe in her arms and led her other child five miles to "Stone Arabia," now Lansingburgh. She remained overnight in the attic of a wealthy acquaintance; the children slept on blankets stretched over boards, while she wept. Mr. Bleecker arrived at sunrise and rescued his family and set sail on a sloop down the Hudson to Red Hook.

A band of hostile Tories and Indians held Fort Schaghticoke and several abandoned houses of the settlers as a British outpost. Col. Johannes Knickerbacker's 14th N. Y. Regiment, composed of officers and men from Dutch Hoosac and Schaghticoke, was slow in marching to the field of action. It is locally reported that he was fourteen days arriving at General Gates's encampment, which he reached October 7th, at dusk, just as the scene of the second battle of Old Saratoga was closing and in time only to shout exultingly to the fleeing Britains.

Maj. Derrick Van Vechten, an officer in Colonel Knickerbacker's 14th Regiment, was posted at Mechanicsville. He and Samuel Acker visited Old Schaghticoke before the

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Battle of Saratoga on September 19th, to observe their fields of grain. While standing on the hill of Yocob Yates's farm, above the Tomhannac Bridge, the Tories and Indians fired a volley of bullets as they retreated toward the Hudson. Major Van Vechten fell, mortally wounded, with a bullet in his heart, beneath the elm tree on the present road below Reynolds Station. He shouted to Acker to take care of himself, saying: "You cannot save me." Acker reached the American Camp and a detachment of soldiers was sent to bury Major Van Vechten's body.

The Tomhannac Road was also guarded by Tories, occupying Abraham Viele's house below Buttermilk Falls. Three officers on horseback advanced to Fort Schaghticoke with messages from Generals Clinton and Howe to General Burgoyne. They were mistaken for American scouts, and the sharpshooters posted in the Spook Hollow ravine above Viele's house mortally wounded one of the officers. He expired beneath the butternut tree, still standing in front of the Button house, now on the site of Viele's house.

After the surrender of the British in 1777, Hoosac, Pittstown, and Cambridge Patents were settled by Baptists and Quakers from New England. The Dutch Reformed Church was founded at Pittstown Centre in 1787 by deacons John Bailey, John Van Woerdt, Jonathan Yates, and Simeon Van Dercook; and the Tioshoke Dutch Reformed Church, located at Buskirk Bridge, in Cambridge District, was organized, May 2, 1792, by Dominie Samuel Smith, Patroon Philip Van Ness, Johannes Quackenbosch, Nicholas Groesbeck, Ludovicus Viele, Petrus Viele, and Johannes Van Buskirk. The Presbyterian Church—a branch of the Dutch Reformed Church at Tomhannac—was organized, March 25, 1800, by the original deacons of the Reformed Church of Pittstown Centre.

The Baptist Church of the "Warren Society" began at

Pittstown Centre in March, 1787, being instituted by Gershorm Hinckley, Benjamin Eastwood, Jared Mead, Samuel Crandall, John Lamb, William Lamport, Jacob Miller, Samuel Halstead, William Cuthbert, Mayhew Daggett, Jeremiah Reynolds, Ebenezer Wilson, Nathan Jeffers, and Thomas Martin from Rhode Island.

The Society of Friends was organized in Pittstown during 1787, and included as members the names of Abigal Lamb, John Osborne, David Norton, Caleb Norton, Simeon Brownell, and Asa Hoag. Mrs. Rose Eddy, Simeon Brownell, Asa Hoag, and Elizabeth Lawton, wife of Joseph Lawton, were the first speakers. The Quaker meeting-house was built about 1800; subsequently burned and rebuilt in 1819 by Micajah Hunt.

The founders of Cambridge District, after the campaign of 1777, included Phineas Whiteside, Daniel Bratt, Nathaniel Kenyon, Samuel Willet, and the Scotch-Irish merchants, John Shirland, Hugh Laramouth, John Galloway, David Burrows, Calvin Skinner, Alexander Marshall, Elihu Gifford, the Almy, Tilton, Mayhew, Brownell, Sherman, Stevenson, Ackley, Bowen, Webster, Green, Wier, Averill, English, Waite, Coulter, and McVicar families.

Young Elihu Gifford once led a romantic life on board a privateer. He aided his captain in seizing a British vessel loaded with silver, and the money was transferred to their privateer. This success lead them to try to seize a disguised British ship of war, manned with seventy-four guns. In the attempt the privateer herself was seized. Gifford was an expert swimmer and proposed to a companion in the hold of the British ship, to swim three miles to the Cuban shore, after dark. They reached the shore safely and the following morning the British ship set sail for England. Elihu Gifford returned to his native Cambridge hills. His son, Nathan, inherited his father's courage and headed a company of

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volunteers in Eddy's "Expedition" in 1814. Elihu Gifford and Samuel Sandford became kinsmen of the famous landscape artist, Sandford Gifford.

The White Creek intervale of Cambridge District was settled by Austin Wells, a son of the original proprietor, Edmund Wells, and several small patents were granted to other settlers, including Lake, Van Cuyler, Wilson, Bain, Campbell, Ashton, Embury, and Waite on the north bank of the Walloomsac, partly in Hoosac District.

Elder William Waite and several Rhode Island Baptists of the "Warren Society" of Cambridge District, together with Deacons Waldo and Goff of Hoosac District, in 1772 built the First Baptist Church at Waite's Corners, two miles south of Major Cowden's "Checkered House," between St. Croix and Walloomsac hamlets. The Baptist Church¹ was broken up August 16, 1777, many of the brethren joining Col. Francis J. Van Pfister's Loyalists and fighting against their brothers at the Tory breastworks. During February, 1779, the church was reorganized and a new meeting-house built. Elder William Waite was installed pastor until 1793, after which the famous missionary, the Rev. Obed Warren, the founder of the "Warren Society" of Baptists in America, at Warren, R. I., in 1767, was installed pastor and retained the office until 1812.

During 1769, Thomas and James Ashton of England headed a colony of Irish Methodists of the John Wesley Society, and located at Ash Grove, two miles east of Old Cambridge Village, in North White Creek intervale, bordering Shaftsbury, New Hampshire Grants.

The military manor of Clarendon, containing 4000 acres, drawn and purchased by Lieut. Duncan McVicar in 1763, was located in White Creek, N. Y., and Shaftsbury, New Hampshire Grants. It overlapped the latter township

¹ Benedict, *History of the Baptist Churches*.

granted to the Rhode Islanders by Gov. Benning Wentworth in 1761.

The Irish Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterian proprietors of Shaftsbury founded not only their churches but their republican government, and Lieutenant McVicar was forced to sail for Scotland in 1770 and relinquish his baronial estate, east of the Twenty-Mile Line. Philip Embury, an Episcopal clergyman, became impressed with the zeal of the followers of John Wesley. He preached the first Methodist sermon in this country at the Old John Street Church in New York City in 1766. The White Creek Wesleyans held meetings in Ash Grove, near Ashton's home, until the Ash Grove Methodist Episcopal Church, the second in America, was organized in 1770. The Rev. Philip Embury was installed first pastor. He died at Salem, N. Y., and is known as the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.¹ His grave in the Ash Grove burial-field is marked by a memorial monument to-day. The Ash Grove Methodist Church was the first church organized in Washington County. Later, in 1793, the Scotch-Irish followers of John Calvin founded the Presbyterian Church at Cambridge Village, although their "Old White Meeting-house" was not dedicated until many years later.

After the advent of the Rhode Island Baptists, several Quakers from New Bedford, Mass., arrived about 1784. The Quaker Church of Cambridge was founded by Isaac and John Wood; Jonathan, Amos, Abraham, and Stephen Hoag; John and Philip Allen—cousins of Col. Ethan Allen; Jonathan Russey; Samuel, Joseph, and Allen Mosher; James Carpenter, Benjamin and Nathan Nichols; Micah Cavell, Micah and James Hunt; John Soule, John Wing, Cornelius Devol, David Norton, Seth Chase, and the Baker, Hart, Tabor, Cornell, Kintch, and Potter families. The

¹ Johnston, *Washington County History*, p. 259.

meeting-house of the Society of Friends was built half a mile west of White Creek hamlet, on land leased of Edward Aiken for an annual quit-rent of one pepper-corn. The first and second churches were destroyed by fire—the latter in 1875.

Schaghticoke township began in the centre of Hudson River at the northwest corner of Rensselaer County, thence ran east to the middle of Hoosac River; thence down the river to Viele's or Toll's Bridge, a direct course to Michael Van Dercook's grist-mill at Cooksboro; westerly along the bounds of Lansingburgh to the centre of Hudson River, and thence northerly to the place of beginning.

The founders of Schaghticoke included the grandsons of the Knickerbacker Dutch tenantry, and several English and Scotch-Irish Pilgrims from New England. Thomas Lounsbury from Westchester County, N. Y., purchased second division lots 2 and 3 of the Great Lot 41 on Hoosac Patent in 1778 for \$9000. His farm was a quarter of a mile in width, running westerly on the Stillwater Road, extending two miles north of the "Big Eddy," of Hart's Falls. Lounsbury's "Big Eddy" mill-lot was later owned by Johannes P. Hansen and Aaron B. Hinman, now the site of Schaghticoke Point. The village of Hart's Falls was first settled by John Hart, John I. Fort, Jacob Corbin, John Searles, William Bacus, John S. Mosher, David Bryan, John Banker, Patrick Fitzgerald, Frederick Romp, John and Augustus Downs, Daniel Elst, Garret Wenant, Rite Piner, Lewis Van Antwerp, David Browning, Sybrant Viele, George Wetsel, and Jacob Overock.

The First Presbyterian Church was founded by Thomas Lounsbury and other members of the Calvin Society, on Schaghticoke Hill Road, south of Hart's Falls in 1805. Later the church was moved to Hart's Falls, where several inns, mills, and stores centred. About the same time Schagh-

ticoke Hill hamlet, two miles south of Hart's Falls, contained Roger's Inn, Peter Hurly's blacksmith shop, Hiram Buel's shoe-shop, Peter Yates's store, George Burton's twine-mill, Harwood's powder-keg mill, and Herman Jansen Knickerbacker's grist-mill and saw-mill, known as James Ryan's mills to-day. Two miles below, near Buttermilk Falls on the Tomhannac and above Abram Viele's Inn, stood a bellows'-mill; and in the Bryan District, on the Hudson terrace, stood a grain-cradle and fanning-mill shop.

Among the licensed inn-keepers of Schaghticoke between 1789 and 1804 may be named Jesse Buffett, who ran the American House at Hart's Falls; Benjamin Holt, Abram Viele, Garret Winne, Simon Toll, John Story, Jacob Overock, David Bryan, John Travice, Jared Esbill, Caleb Gifford, Moses Canfield, Ephraim Lyon, Isaac Bull, Samuel Storms, James Brooking, Nathaniel Rusco, and James Lightbody.

The Albany Legislature passed an act in 1802 requiring all slave owners to appear before a justice and record illegitimate births of children born among their Negro slaves. In Schaghticoke, Cornelius Buskirk certified that his slave, named Gin, had a female child, born August 19, 1798, named Sarah Frances; Nicholas Groesbeck, Joseph Talmage, Peter Yates, John Knickerbacker, Winslow Paige, Lewis Viele, Bethel Mather, William Groesbeck, Levennus Van Denburg, John Crabb, and Jacob Sipperly all made similar records until the abolition of slavery in 1827. Another record in 1804 was that the Canada thistle was a pest in Schaghticoke fields and each land owner was fined \$5.00 if he failed to destroy those weeds.

The Thomas Lounsbury burial-field was dedicated for the use of the poor on Stillwater Road, near Schaghticoke Village, in 1797. The oldest marked grave was that of "Michael Klein, son of Joseph and Elizabeth Klein, born September 29, 1774, and died March 21, 1797, aged 22

years." The cemetery was locally known as the "Klein Grave Yard," until the stone was removed a few years ago. The tombstone of the founder is located in the centre of the yard:

IN MEMORY
of
Thomas Lounsbury
Who departed this life
12th May, 1813
In 77th Year of
His Age.

The first town-meeting of Pittstown was held at the Still Tavern, near the Dutch Reformed Church, in Centre-of-the Town, during April, 1789. The licensed inn-keepers included Peter Doty of the Brick Tavern, Daniel Carpenter and Colonel Reed at Pittstown Centre; the latter inn is known as the Union House to-day. Finney's Tavern Stand on the Herman farm proved a rallying place for the volunteers joining Gen. Gilbert Eddy's "Expedition" against the British at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain in 1814. Wadsworth's Tavern of Boyntonville, Aiken's Inn, and Fish's Tavern were considered the famous hostelries before the Battle of Bennington. Gifford's Tavern at Valley Falls won a reputation for its festivities during the War of 1812, at which time Mordecai Lotteridge was its proprietor.

The first town-meeting of Cambridge was held at Ishmael Gardner's Inn, at Waite's Corners, during March, 1789, and thereafter at Archibald McVicar's Inn, known later as Waite's Tavern. Maj. James Cowden's famous "Checkered House," painted with red and white checkers, was the leading tavern in Cambridge Valley during the Revolution. It was converted into a private residence a few years ago.

Among the first physicians of Cambridge may be mentioned Dr. John Williams, Dr. Jonathan Dorr of Dorr's

Corners, Dr. Post of Post's Corners, Dr. Morris of Buskirk Bridge, and his son, Dr. Philip Van Ness Morris—a classmate of William Cullen Bryant and Samuel J. Mills, Jr., at Williams College in 1809–1810. John Pope Putnam, son of Peter Schuyler Putnam of Williamstown, was a grandson of the famous Gen. Israel Putnam. He, also, graduated from



The Checkered House, built by Major James Cowden during the Revolution, after the introduction of red and white paint.

Williams College in 1809 and later became a jurist. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Dorr, and was located at Dorr's Corners in Cambridge until his death in 1867.

Union Academy of White Creek hamlet in Cambridge was founded in 1810. It was a two-story building, surmounted by a belfry, and the school was opened by Prof. Isaiah Y. Johnson. Among the distinguished students may be named George N. Briggs, son of the blacksmith, William Briggs of Briggs's Corners, Cambridge; and Hiland Hall of Bennington. Briggs later studied law at Lanesboro, Mass.,

Old Schaghticoke and Cambridge Districts 267

and was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1856; and Hiland Hall studied law and later became Governor of Vermont. He was the author of *The Early History of Vermont*. Other famous pupils included the subsequent Senator Joel Talmage, Judge Daniel Talmage, Judge Olin, Gideon Hard, John McDonald, and Gilbert Morgan. The Old Academy is at present doing duty as a tenement house.

The Cambridge Washington Academy of Cambridge Village was organized, July 25, 1814, and opened by Prof. David Chazel, a gentleman of French origin. It flourished for fifty-eight years, closing for want of funds in 1873. The population of Cambridge in 1790 was 4987. The celebration of Peace, after the close of hostilities with England in 1815, was heralded in White Creek by a procession of the veterans of 1777, headed by the centurion, Zebulon Allen, bearing the American Stars and Stripes.

The town of Cambridge was sub-divided into the towns of White Creek and Jackson. The first town-meeting of White Creek was held at Jaques Johnson's Inn in April, 1816. Daniel P. Carpenter was chosen postmaster in 1822.

Albany County was sub-divided into Rensselaer and Washington counties in 1791. Cambridge town came under the jurisdiction of the latter, and Schaghticoke, Pittstown, and Hoosac towns under the jurisdiction of the former county. Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, in 1792, was elected a member of the State Legislature from Rensselaer County, an office which he filled until his death in 1802 at the age of seventy-nine years. He left four sons and several daughters. Johannes Knickerbacker, 3d, was commissioned colonel of the State militia during the War of 1812, and became a member of the Albany Legislature; William Knickerbacker built the colonial mansion half a mile east of the "Homestead," and was commissioned colonel of the Schaghticoke militia during General Training and "Nigger-Whipper" of

Schaghticoke slaves until 1827. He died in 1848, two years before the death of the Knickerbacker slave, Tom Mandolin.

The annual feasts of the "Albany Gentlemen" continued until after the death of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d. After the death of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 3d, the "Hostead" descended to his brother, Abraham Knickerbacker, whose portrait still hangs on the parlor wall. Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, fourth son of Colonel Knickerbacker, 2d, built his mansion on the north bank of the Tomhannac Creek, at Schaghticoke Hill. He became host of the mayor and the council of Troy after it was chartered, February 7, 1791, as an offset for the festivities held at the Old Mansion. On one occasion, when the Troy Gentlemen arrived, their host pretended to have forgotten the day appointed. He assured his famished guests that he was wholly unprepared to receive them. Enjoyment of the joke followed after the dining-room doors were thrown open upon a sumptuous repast. The festivities at the "Hostead" were of a more dignified character. The guests were ushered to the parlor by a staff of slaves and their carriages driven to the cathedral-like barns. Colonel Knickerbacker, 2d, and his son, Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, according to the late Hiram Button, owned the first two coaches and sleighs in Schaghticoke. Herman Jansen Knickerbacker married three helpmeets, each of whom brought him a fortune to meet his social extravagances. During President Madison's office, he was Judge of Rensselaer County and Congressman at Washington. His genial and humorous manner, characteristic of the Nederlanders, won him the lifelong friendship of Washington Irving, and he is mentioned in Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. Congressman Knickerbacker in his Washington speech said: "I want you to understand that I am Prince of the Tribe of the Schaghticoques." And this phrase won for him the title of



The Fireplace in the Great Parlor of the Knickerbocker Mansion, mentioned by Washington Irving in "Knickerbocker's History of New York."

"Prince" Knickerbacker. Dolly Madison once asked him the difference between the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian Church creeds, to which he replied: "Not any, Madam, except one congregation sings short metre, and the other long metre." "Prince" Knickerbacker's son was elected Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the West, and resembled his father. A portrait of Judge Knickerbacker is said to be in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Kate Fay of Lansingburgh. "Prince" Knickerbacker's homestead on Schaghticoke Hill was burned, and the estate is now owned by the Tibbits of Hoosac.

The manorial days of the Colonel Knickerbacker race are gone; though the parlor and haunted chambers of the Old Mansion still contain the life-like portraits of the departed burghers, whose steadfast gaze follows the beholder questioningly. In their accustomed corners still stand quaint arm-chairs and canopied bedsteads with the old-fashioned valance, in which many generations of Knickerbackers have nodded and dozed their last years away. The old clock in the parlor corner is silent, and its weary hands have dropped from their pivot, having pointed out the hours of conflict as well as the monotonous years of peace, since Dav. Morra of Muchty, Holland, turned forth the clock in the year 1625. He carved with skill the phases of the moon on the dial-plate, and the hands have pointed out the birth, marriage, and death hours,—hours of joy and hours of anguish during the past two centuries in the Hoosacs' "Vale of Peace."

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS' MILITIA OF BENNINGTON 1764-1815

*To live by law,
Acting the law we live by without fear,
And because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom in scorn of consequences.*

TENNYSON.

Gov. Benning Wentworth's Commission—Green Mountain Towns—Military Grants—Land-Title Controversies—Bennington Militia—Stamp Act Riot—Settlers' Petition to King—Death of Samuel Robinson—Treaty with Mahican King—Pownal Militia—Freehold Court.

GOV. Benning Wentworth's Commission,¹ dated in June 1741, bounded the New Hampshire Grants on the adopted Twenty-Mile Line between New York and New England. This boundary was published by the Crown, on Jno. Mitchell's Map,² in London during 1755. The map was used later, in 1783, in adjusting the American and British domains. Governor Clinton and Lieut.-Governor Colden of New York, however, sent letters to Governor Wentworth and challenged the Green Mountain territory east to the Connecticut River, by virtue of the obsolete Charter³ of New York granted to the Duke of York in 1664. Governor Wentworth ignored these messages and between 1749 and 1765 signed over one hundred and twenty-five town charters⁴

¹ Hiland Hall, *Early Hist. Vermont*, App. 2, p. 476.

² See illustration, p. 63.

³ See illustration, p. 38.

⁴ Bennington was chartered in 1749; another town in 1750; two in 1752; seven in 1753, including Stamford, north of North Adams, and Woodford, east of Bennington; three in 1754; Pownal in 1760; sixty in 1761, including Shaftsbury, Arlington, and Glastonbury, north of Bennington; ten in 1762; and thirty in 1763.

west of the Connecticut,—half of the two hundred and forty-six organized towns and cities in Vermont to-day.

After the close of the French and Indian War, the Connecticut Pilgrims migrated to the Green Mountain towns bordering Rensselaerwyck, Walloomsac, and Schneider patents of Dutch Hoosac, N. Y. These patents overlapped Pownal, Bennington, and Shaftsbury on the New Hampshire Grants. After the King's *Military Proclamation*, dated October 7, 1763, Lieut.-Governor Colden confirmed one hundred and six patents to the British, east of the adopted Twenty-Mile Line, covering portions of Bennington and Shaftsbury. Field officers were entitled to five thousand acres; captains, to three thousand; staff officers, to two hundred; and privates, to fifty acres each. Most of the grantees, however, returned to their homes and sold their grants to James Duane and other land-agents. The historian, Hiland Hall of Bennington, records that out of three hundred and twelve military claims that overlapped farms of the Bennington County settlers subsequently adjusted by the Governor in 1797, only five remained in the names of the original grantees.

Lieut. Duncan McVicar, an officer of the 55th Regiment of Scottish Highlanders, father of Anna McVicar-Grant, author of *Memoirs of an American Lady*, published in 1808, drew a thousand acres. He purchased three thousand acres more of brother officers, and caused the vast tract to be located together in Durham and Clarendon manors, part in Shaftsbury, Vt., and part in White Creek, N. Y. In her childish fancy, his daughter contemplated the "simple felicity which was to prevail among the amiable and innocent tenants of their baronial estate." The Rhode Island proprietors of the town of Shaftsbury, chartered by Governor Wentworth, 1761, however, refused to be tenants to anyone. Anna McVicar-Grant stated that their conversation was

tainted with "Cromwellian politics," and that they "refused to be slaves to arbitrary power." In 1770, Lieutenant McVicar, alarmed at the widespread declaration of Republicanism, embarked with his family for Laggan, Scotland. He left Clarendon Manor in charge of his friend and countryman, John Munroe of West Shaftsbury.

Lieut.-Governor Colden published a *Proclamation*, December 28, 1763, setting forth the Yorker's claim to the Green Mountain District as far east as the Connecticut River. The Bennington County settlers were paralyzed when the King on July 20, 1764, confirmed Colden's *Proclamation* and adjudged the Green Mountain towns under the jurisdiction of New York.

Those of Connecticut and their Green Mountain grandsons, as the Mahicans and Yorkers learned, came to the wilderness with a "load of thought . . . knowing well what they knew, not guessing but *calculating!*" On October 24, 1764, therefore, the Benningtonians organized their first company of Green Mountain Boys. The muster-roll contains the names of Capt. John Fassett, eleven officers, and forty-five members of rank and file, including the names of the original founders of the town and church.

Capt. Samuel Robinson's name is not enrolled among the Green Mountain Boys, since at that time he was a justice of the peace and detained in Albany Jail. During the latter part of October, a land-title controversy took place between several Dutch burghers and English settlers of Pownal, on New Hampshire Grants. Justice Samuel Robinson, Sr., and Sheriff John Ashley, on behalf of John Horsford and Isaac Charles, who had purchased farms in Pownal, attempted to eject Petrus Voseburgh (Vose) and Bastian Van Deel from farms upon which they "squatted" between 1724 and 1760. The Sheriff of Rensselaerwyck arrested

Samuel Robinson and John Ashley and lodged them in Albany Jail. This resulted in the organization of a Grand Committee and militia to defend the Green Mountain settlers' rights against the Dutch land-claimants.

The case of Petrus Voseburgh was finally settled, and in 1765 Patroon Stephen Van Rensselaer granted him a quit-claim deed for his farm overlapping Pownal, ostensibly for his honesty in rendering quit-rent and for his general good reputation. The Dutch of Pownal became bitter Tories during the Revolution and caused the English proprietors all possible annoyance. The present Voseburgh homestead was built by a son of Petrus in 1802, and his descendants still reside in Orange, N. J. The Brimmer family later owned Voseburgh's Pownal farm, occupied to-day by Thomas Brownell.

The historian, Hiland Hall of Bennington, claims that the clandestine marriage of the play-actor O'Brien, with the daughter of the Earl of Ilchester brought about the exposure of Lieut.-Governor Colden's fraudulent methods of land-pirating. The King in Council advised the Governor of New York to grant Lord Ilchester and others sixty thousand acres for O'Brien's benefit in the Mohawk Valley. That intervale was covered with charters, and O'Brien reported Colden's irregular patent methods to the Lords of Trade and was promised a vast manor in the Green Mountains on the west bank of the Connecticut. But before this was confirmed, Parliament passed the Stamp Act, March 8, 1765, and the Stamp Riot that followed prevented its confirmation for lack of stamps.

The Stamp Act was considered an infringement upon the rights and liberties of the colonists. The Crown's orator, Charles Townsend, supporting the Ministry's side, said: "These Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are

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the states had refused. Had he lived to witness the extent to which his policy was pushed, and the fears both as to the future of the federal government and the subordinate powers of the states doubtless have been

But what was but mistaken cost his successors in of the federal de- pulous zeal for power in the ge- The avowed pri- and the younger portant question, whether there was nothing tion did not sanc- was there scarcely states, which was them, and handed constructive cop- head. Jefferson Republican Re- sions; and the struggle between Party—the ex- tance of the states, and the of the general and reasonable for the subver- an enlargem-

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grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, will they grudge to contribute their mite?"

The Colonists were represented by Colonel Barré, who replied:

Children planted by your care? No. Your oppression planted them in America. . . . They nourished by your indulgence? No. They grew by your neglect. . . . They protected by your Arms! . . . They have nobly taken up arms in your defence . . . of a country which, while its frontier was drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your emolument.

Nevertheless, Parliament passed the Stamp Act; and Benjamin Franklin, the night after, wrote Charles Thompson of Philadelphia that: "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thompson replied: "Be assured; we shall light up torches of quite another sort." On November 1, 1765, Lieut.-Governor Colden attempted to convey the stamps, lately arrived, to Fort George on Bowling Green, New York City. A vast torchlight procession of the colonists appeared in the fields, on the site of Central Park, carrying two images on a scaffold, representing Colden and the Devil whispering in his ear. Those images were burned in front of Fort George along with all of the governor's carriages and sleighs. The next morning, Colden turned all the stamps over to the Mayor of New York and they were deposited in the City Hall.

Twelve days after the Stamp Riot, Sir Henry Moore arrived and assumed the office of Governor of New York. Anna McVicar-Grant in 1808 stated that: "If the business of a governor was merely to keep the governed in good humor, none was better fitted for that office," than Moore. The Green Mountain settlers of Pownal, Bennington, Shaft-

bury, Arlington, Sunderland, Manchester, and Danby resolved to apply direct to Governor Moore for relief against the fraudulent patents of the Yorkers overlapping the towns granted by Governor Wentworth. During December following the Stamp Riot, Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., of Bennington and Jeremiah French of Manchester were chosen agents to present the Settlers' Petition to Governor Moore. He offered them no aid, and in March, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed. The news of the repeal reached the Bennington settlers in May. Governor Moore allowed the settlers from June 6th to September 6th in which to make new surveys of the towns granted by Governor Wentworth and to prove their titles. This was impossible as they had spent their *all* in furthering their settlements. On September 7th, the New York surveyors began to establish the Yorkers' fraudulent patents covering the Benningtonians' farms.

A Petition¹ signed by over a thousand settlers along the western border of the Green Mountain District was prepared, and Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., chosen agent to present it to the King in Council. He was accompanied by attorney William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut and arrived in London, January, 1767. A detailed statement of the settlers' grievances was prepared by Johnson, and the Petition of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and another for the Church of England were also delivered to Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State, March 20, 1767.

The King ordered Lord Shelburne to address Governor Moore a letter,² dated at White Hall, April 11, 1767, together with copies of the Benningtonians' petitions. Governor Moore and the Colden-Duane land-pirating league were indignant over Samuel Robinson's assumed statesmanship. On June 10, 1767, James Duane, Esq., aided Governor Moore

¹ See Note 15 at end of volume.

² See Note 16 at end of volume.

and replied to Lord Shelburne's letter. James Duane was proprietor of one-third of 26,000 acres in the first grant, executed by Lieut.-Governor Colden, that overlapped the Bennington County settlers' land east of the Twenty-Mile Line. He held titles of nearly 50,000 acres, 39,000 of which were later found to be military claims. Duane was known in the Hoosac and Walloomsac valleys as the "champion land-pirate and swindler," and adviser of John Tabor Kemp, the King's attorney during the Albany Ejectment Trials of the Benningtonians in 1766.

Samuel Robinson, Sr., while in London awaiting the decision of the King, fell ill with small-pox and died, October 27, 1767. He was buried in Bunhill's Burial-field, connected with Whitefield's Church. This cemetery is said to contain the dust of several Americans who have died in London, including John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, and George Whitefield.

During the perilous year of 1767, Mrs. Robinson's log-cabin at Bennington Centre was threatened by packs of wolves and wandering savages. Samuel Robinson, Jr., and his brothers meanwhile promoted the settlers' cause by forming a Treaty of Peace with the Mahican king seated at Old Stockbridge. They negotiated for the deeds to twelve towns on the headwaters of the Hoosac and Walloomsac, including Pownal, Bennington, Stamford, Woodford, Glastonbury, Shaftsbury, Arlington, and Manchester.

The original copy of the Robinson Treaty,¹ dated at Bennington, November 30, 1767, was prepared by Leonard Robinson, and signed by one hundred and one settlers, including Samuel Robinson, Jr., Moses and Silas Robinson, the Rev. Jedidiah Dewey, Capt. John Fassett, Stephen Fay, Seth Warner, Daniel Warner, Lieut. James Breakenridge, Brewster, Stewart, Burnham, Cochran, Henry, Hubbell, Safford, Rudd, Harwood, Harmon, and others.

¹ See Note 17 at end of volume.

An effort was made by certain land-owners in 1786 to dispossess several occupants of their Pownal farms along the Twenty-Mile Line. This resulted in the famous lawsuit of Gen. Josiah Wright and Mr. Page against Joseph Wheeler and Amos Potter. Josiah and Solomon Wright were sons of Charles Wright of Pownal Tavern. Josiah fought in the Battle of Bennington and Solomon figured later in the Rutland and Pittsford sieges. Gen. Josiah Wright was subsequently elected Judge of the Probate Court, State Councillor, Judge of the County Court, and Presidential Elector in 1805 and 1813. He voted for both Jefferson and Madison and opened the first post-office of Pownal in a small room on the east side of his tavern, near the site of the late Hon. Amasa Thompson's residence. During 1807, he was chosen a commissioner by the Legislature to build the State's prison at Windsor. Solomon Wright was chosen Judge of Bennington County in 1789 and Chief Judge in 1814. The historian, Hiland Hall, considered him a man of unsurpassed eloquence and personal attraction. The colonial mansion of the latter was the residence of Ruth, Sarah, and Ward Wright, and still stands on the corner of Main and River streets, near the Hoosac River Bridge in the village of Pownal.

The first company of Pownal militia was commanded by Capt. Eli Noble. He resided in the gambrel-roofed house on the Hill Road to Bennington, known as the Joseph Barber Place. The Committee of Safety, including Thomas Jewett, Ephraim Seelye, Jr., and Josiah Dunning, remained the "Court of Public Safety" until after Vermont's admittance to the Federal Union in 1791.

After the Revolution, the Freehold Court was appointed and a Statute of Limitation, requiring all Dutch and English proprietors residing on farms along the disputed Twenty-Mile Line to close their adverse claims before a specified

date, was enacted. The *Wheeler and Potter vs. Wright and Page* case in Pownal came up for trial the last day of the appointed term. The Committee of Public Safety determined that the Freehold Court should not assemble on the day specified. Two bands of fictitious Indians were organized by the Pownal militia, one to keep their neighbors under restraint and the other to guard the Mount Anthony Road and kidnap Sheriff Nathan Clark and Judge Isaac Tichenor of Bennington on their journey to the Pownal Court. David Stanwood, known as "Captain Pete," was the leader of the latter band of Indians. Sheriff Clark was allowed to escape. He hastened to Pownal, only to find another band of Indians in command of the Freehold court-room.

Darkness fell over the Mount Anthony Pass before "Captain Pete's" band allowed Judge Tichenor to make his escape to his home. An attempt was made later to apprehend the ambuscaders in the farce, but no proof of the actors' identity could be secured and the matter passed in silence. The Pownal Committee of Safety for a number of years thereafter exchanged sly winks whenever an allusion was made to the "Statute of Limitation."

CHAPTER XIV

FIRST OPEN REBELLION AGAINST THE CROWN AT FORT BREAKENRIDGE

1766-1775

The Hampshire Grants, in particular,—a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war,—now abound, in the most active and most rebellious race on the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left.—GENERAL BURGOTNE'S LETTER TO LORD GERMAINE.

Ejectment Trials—Benningtonians' Rebellion—Albanians' Defeat—Green Mountain Boys' Militia—Reward Offered for Ethan Allen and his Captains—Capture of Remember Baker—Ethan Allen's Remonstrance—Rebellion of Berkshire Boys—Westminster Massacre—Battle of Lexington—Albanians' Militia—Conference with Indians.

THE Bennington settlers engaged Ethan Allen and Councillor Ingersoll from Connecticut during the summer of 1766, to defend their cause in the Albany Court of Ejectment. They made their headquarters at the Truman Squire Inn, south of the Catamount Tavern. Allen proceeded to Portsmouth and obtained copies of Gov. Benning Wentworth's Commission¹ of New Hampshire Grants and charters of the towns bordering the Twenty-Mile Line of New York.

Several cases, however, had been prejudged, regardless of law or evidence, before Allen arrived at Albany. He retired from the court-room, but was waited upon during the evening by John Tabor Kemp, the King's attorney, and James Duane, representatives of Lieut.-Governor Colden's land-pirating league. Colden, according to documentary records, pocketed \$25,000 in patent fees for his share in regranting

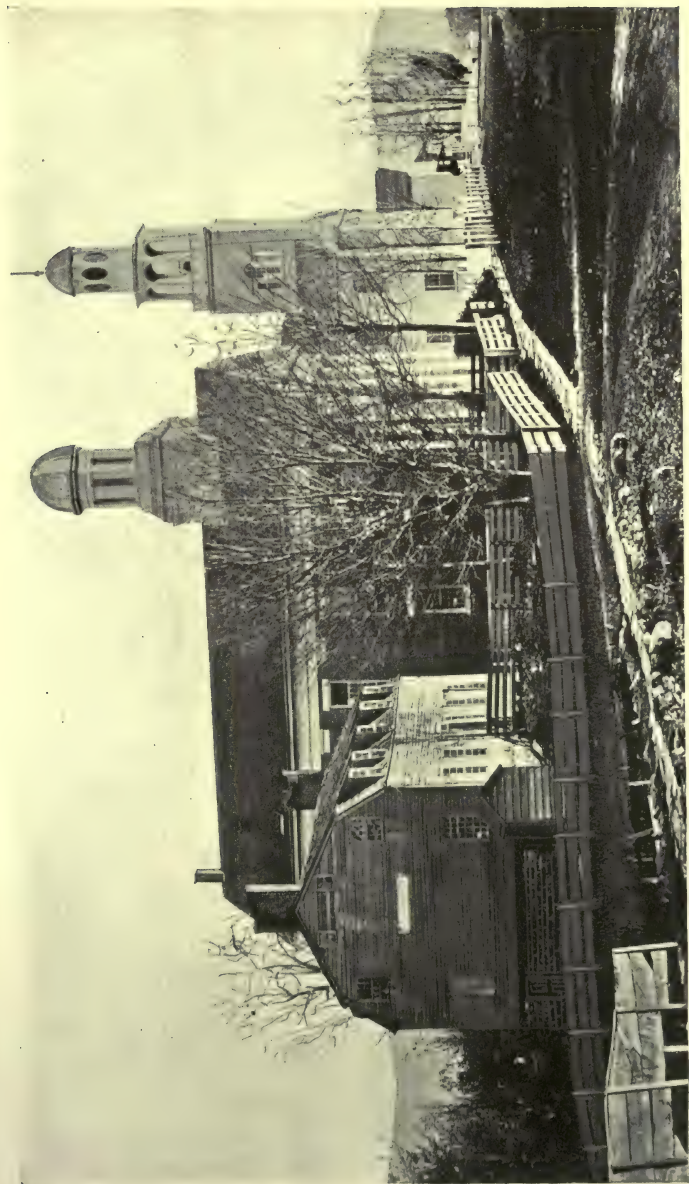
¹ Hiland Hall, *Early Hist. Vermont*, App. 2, p. 476.

the Benningtonians' farms to the Albany speculators. Kemp and Duane attempted to bribe Allen and Ingersoll. They told them to go home and advise the settlers to make the best terms that they could with their new landlords, signifying that "might often prevailed against right." Allen coolly replied "that the Gods of the valleys are not the Gods of the hills." Kemp desired an explanation of the challenging phrase, and Allen replied "that if he would accompany him to Bennington, the meaning should be made clear."

Among the ejectment cases was one against Lieut. James Breakenridge of Irish Corners, now Riverside, in the northwest part of the town; and another against Dr. Josiah Fuller, residing east of the present Thomas Jewett homestead, in the southeast part of the town. After Allen returned to Bennington Centre, the Council of Safety assembled at the Catamount Tavern, and the one hundred proprietors formally resolved that they would defend their rights with their lives.

The serving of the King's Writs of Ejectment later was looked upon as a picnic. Capt. Abraham Cornelius Cuyler, the last Royal Mayor of the City of Albany, between 1770 and 1778, appointed by Lieut.-Governor Colden, directed Sheriff Ten Eyck on July 28, 1771, to rally over three hundred variously armed Albany citizens, including councillors Peter Sylvester, John R. Bleecker, Robert Yates, and Christopher Yates. After the first day's march, they encamped at St. Croix Mills, six miles below Lieutenant Breakenridge's farm. Fifty envious inhabitants of Dutch Hoosac joined the Albanians at St. Croix and marched up the Walloomsac to Henry Bridge, a quarter of a mile north of Breakenridge's house.

The Bennington militia was prepared to give the Albany speculators a warm reception. Captain Marvin's "Minute Men" from Stillwater had warned the Council of Safety of the Albanians' march, and the Breakenridge house was



The Truman Squires House, the residence of Ethan Allen and Councillor Ingersoll in the summer of 1766 during the Albany Ejectment Trials of the Benningtonians. South of the Squires House stand the Old Court House and Second Congregational Church.

converted into a fortified stronghold. Loopholes were made for small arms, and a red flag was adjusted to signal from the chimney-top for reinforcements. Breakenridge's house stood about a mile east of the Twenty-Mile Line, near the



The Northern Portal of Henry Bridge, Irish Corners, now Riverside, West Bennington, Vermont. Here Col. Ethan Allen posted several of his Benningtonian Sentinels, who demanded Sheriff Ten Eyck to halt his Regiment of Albanians on their march to serve the Crown's Writ of Ejectment on Lieut. James Breakenridge and Dr. Josiah Fuller, July 29, 1771. It was here that the first armed resistance of the Green Mountain Boys against the Crown took place.

homes of Col. Seth Warner and Lieut. William Henry, on the St. Croix and Bennington Centre Road.

At the northern portal of Henry Bridge, Col. Ethan Allen posted six sentinels, who ordered Sheriff Ten Eyck to halt. A parley was held with Captain Cuyler and his councillors, after which it was agreed that they might be conducted without arms to Lieutenant Breakenridge's house, to hold a conference with the Bennington Council of Safety. Sheriff Ten Eyck inquired the cause of the assemblage of the Ben-

nington militia to prevent his serving the Crown's Writ of Ejectment, to which Breakenridge replied "that the township had resolved to take his farm under their protection, and that they intended to keep it."

Mayor Cuyler of Albany exclaimed that "whatever blood should be spilled in opposing the King's Writ would be required from his hands." It was finally agreed that Breakenridge should hold a conference with his friends and that Mayor Cuyler and his councillors should be escorted to Henry Bridge and wait half an hour for his decision. Breakenridge's messenger reported that neither his nor the Fuller farm would be given up but that they would be kept at any cost. Captain Cuyler ordered his regiment to march forward, although only thirty of the three hundred and fifty men proved courageous enough to venture over Henry Bridge. Sheriff Ten Eyck headed the band up to the barricaded door of the Breakenridge house and attorney Robert Yates used many ingenious arguments, drawn from similar cases in his knowledge of the legal lore of piracy, in order to convince the Benningtonians that the Albanians had a legal right to eject them from their farms and appropriate their vineyards and onion crops for themselves, unless the Benningtonians repurchased their lands again of the Dutch claimants. Col. Ethan Allen used equally convincing oratory in refuting these contentions.

Sheriff Ten Eyck seized an axe and threatened to break down the barricaded door of Breakenridge's house. The garrison hoisted the red flag from the chimney-top as a signal to the soldiers posted thirty rods distant along the edge of the woods, and a hundred polished rifles were immediately aimed at Ten Eyck. This sobered the "Bully Boys of Helderberg" and Ten Eyck retired with his men to Henry Bridge. Mayor Cuyler formally requested his troops to march five miles farther southeast and serve the King's

Writ of Ejectment upon Dr. Fuller, but they refused and returned to Albany before sunrise on July 30, 1771.

After the defeat of the Yorkers, a Grand Committee was organized in the New Hampshire Grants and a regiment of three hundred Green Mountain Boys formed. Seth Warner commanded the Bennington company; Eli Noble, the Pownal company; Remember Baker, the Arlington company; Robert Cochran, the Rupert company; Gideon Warren, the Sunderland company, and Dr. Ebenezer Marvin the Stillwater company of "Minute Men" on the New York borders. John J. Bleecker, Ignace Kipp, Isaac Clark, Eleazar Eggerton, and Nathaniel Schipman,¹ Jr., were among the Dutch Hoosac scouts; and Peleg Sunderland, John Smith, and Sylvanus Brown were the scouts of the Bennington Council of Safety. A general military organization of the Green Mountain Boys' militia took place in 1772, and Ethan Allen was elected colonel of the regiment. Governor Tryon of New York later published a proclamation, offering a reward of £50 each for Allen and his captains of the "Bennington Mob."

Colonel Allen, in daring mockery of Tryon's proclamation, distributed printed handbills offering a reward of £15 for the capture of the King's attorney, John Tabor Kemp, and £10 for James Duane,—“those common disturbers of public peace,” if delivered at Fay's Catamount Tavern at Bennington. The Tory justice, John Munroe of Shaftsbury, superintendent of Lieut. Duncan McVicar's Clarendon and Durham manors, engaged a band of fifteen Yorkers and captured Capt. Remember Baker of Arlington, March 22, 1772. Baker was routed from bed and seized by a bloodhound and threatened with instant death if he made an outcry. They bound Baker without his coat, and his right thumb was severed during the act. Upon bidding farewell

¹ Also spelled Chipman.

to his wife and children, Justice Munroe consoled them with the promise of Baker's immediate execution as soon as he was lodged in Albany Jail.

Munroe's men made so much noise that Baker's neighbors, Caleb Henderson and John Winston, arrived armed with their rifles. Winston was seized and bound with Baker, but Henderson made his escape to Bennington Centre with news of Baker's capture. At twelve o'clock the scouts of the Council of Safety, including the subsequently titled Gen. Isaac Clark, Col. Joseph Safford, Maj. Wait Hopkins, Col. David Safford, Timothy Abbott, Stephen Hopkins, Elanthan Hubbell, Samuel Tubbs, Ezekiel Brewster, and Nathaniel Holmes mounted their swiftest horses. The rescuing party, after a thirty-mile ride, arrived at the Hudson River before three o'clock, and found that Munroe's bandits had not crossed the ferry. They turned and galloped northward and soon met Munroe and recovered Baker more dead than alive. Ethan Allen published an account of Baker's capture in the *Connecticut Courant*¹ at the time.

After Baker's rescue Governor Tryon proposed to hear the complaints of the Benningtonians. Parson Jedidiah Dewey, Ethan Allen, Robert Cochran, and Remember Baker prepared a petition of personal grievances, dated June 5, 1772, and Capt. Stephen Fay and his son, Dr. Jonas Fay, conveyed it to Governor Tryon. He suspended all prosecutions in behalf of the Crown, and the Bennington settlers assembled at the meeting-house and offered thanks.

At the same time that Governor Tryon made overtures of peace to the Green Mountain Boys, his surveyor Cockburn was locating patents in the Champlain Valley. Capts. Seth Warner and Remember Baker chased Cockburn to Lake George and captured him in Bolton. He was brought

¹ H. W. DePuy, "Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys of '76," 1853, *Vermont Historical Magazine*, p. 125.

to Castleton and tried before the Beach-Seal Court, convicted, punished with the "Twigs of the Wilderness," and banished from the Green Mountains upon pain of death if he returned. Lieut. James Breakenridge of Bennington and Jehiel Hawley of Arlington were chosen as delegates later to visit England and petition the King in Council for protection against the piracy of the Yorkers.

Ira Allen arrived at Bennington Centre in 1771. During the autumn of 1772 he joined his brothers and cousins in the Onion or Winooski River Land Company, heading off the land-claimants. He resided with Remember Baker at Colchester's Falls in 1773, and discovered Colonel Reid's Mills near Otter Creek Falls, now the site of the City of Vergennes, Vt. Col. Ethan Allen called out his militia and Reid's Scotch settlers were routed. His mill-stones were broken, and Colonel Reid was threatened with death if he dared to return.

On March 9, 1774, the Albany Legislature, therefore, passed an Act of Outlawry. According to Samuel Williams's *History of Vermont* in 1794, it was the "most mandatory and despotic of anything that had ever appeared in the British Colonies." Col. Ethan Allen and Cpts. Warner, Baker, Cochran, Warren, Noble, Sunderland, Smith, Brown, and Marvin were convicted of felony without trial. Governor Tryon offered a reward of £150 for Allen's capture and £50 for the capture of each of his captains.

A sarcastic proclamation was prepared by Colonel Allen, declaring that:

Printed sentences of death are not very alarming . . . if the governor sends his executioners, they have only to try the titles to see who shall prove to be the criminals and die first; and if the authorities of New York insist upon killing us to take possession of our vineyards, come on, we are ready with a game of scalping with them.

Tom Rowley, the Green Mountain poet laureate, added the following *Satire* to the famous historic document.

When Cæsar reigned King of Rome,
St. Paul was sent to hear his doom,
But Roman laws, in a criminal case
Must have the accuser face to face,
Or Cæsar gives flat denial.
But, here 's a law made now of late
Which destines men to awful fate;
And hangs and damns without a trial.
Which made me view all nature through
To find a law where men were ti'd,
By legal act which doth exact
Men's lives before they're tried.
Then down I took the sacred book
And turned the pages o'er
But could not find one of this kind
By God or Man before. . . .

Ethan Allen's *Remonstrance* followed the *Satire*. In it he and his captains declared:

We now proclaim to the public, not only for ourselves but the New Hampshire grantees and occupants in general, that the spring and moving cause of our opposition to the government of New York was self-preservation; namely, first, the preservation and maintenance of our property; and, secondly, since that government is so incensed against us, therefore it stands us in hand to defend our lives. For it appears, by a late set of laws passed by the legislature thereof, that the lives and property of the New Hampshire settlers are manifestly struck at. But, that the public may rightly understand the essence of the controversy, *we* now proclaim to these law-givers, and to the World, that if the New York Patentees will remove their patents, that have been subsequently lapped and laid on the New Hampshire

Charters, and quiet us in our possessions, agreeably to his Majesty's directions, and suspend those criminal prosecutions against us for being rioters, as we are unjustly denominated, then will our settlers be orderly and submissive subjects of Government. But be it known to that despotic fraternity of law-makers and law-breakers, that we will not be fooled nor frightened out of our property.

The Colonial Government of Massachusetts Bay came to an end on August 16, 1774, when the Berkshire militia drove the judges of the Crown from the court-house in Old Stockbridge. Later, on September 25, 1776, it proved necessary to build a jail to secure the Tories on the east side of the Green Mountains.

Several Tories resided in Pownal, Shaftsbury, and Arlington, on the borders of New York. The venerable Dr. Samuel Adams of Arlington advised the settlers to repurchase their farms of the New York claimants. He was tied in an arm-chair and hoisted twenty-five feet to the top of the Catamount Tavern sign-post for his council, to the merriment of a large crowd. After two hours disgrace he was lowered and advised to "go and sin no more." Elder Benjamin Hough, the first minister of the Baptist Church of Durham Manor, now Shaftsbury, accepted a commission as a New York justice, January 22, 1775. In consequence, he was tied to a sour-apple tree in Sunderland four days later, and received two hundred stripes of the "Twigs of the Wilderness" on his back. He was banished from the region forever, but later preached at Mapleton Baptist Church in Hoosac, N. Y.

Samuel Adams of Boston, Father of the Revolution, was a kinsman of Dr. Samuel Adams of Arlington. He, however, inspired the spirit of independence and unity among the colonists, and eight months before the Battle of Lexington, the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in

September, 1774. On March 14, 1775, the Albany Council attempted to rule the Westminster Court on the east side of the Green Mountains, although the settlers had passed resolutions in sympathy with the American patriots and desired to suspend Court sessions.

The Sheriff of Albany County headed his militia and, after demanding entrance to the Westminster Court House a second time without gaining admittance, ordered his men to fire upon the settlers. Ten were wounded, William French and another man dying from their wounds.

Over five hundred armed settlers from the Green Mountains, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts arrived at Westminster the following morning. This massacre was followed on April 19, 1775, by the firing of Major Pitcairn's pistols, opening the Battle of Lexington. Pitcairn's pistols were presented to Gen. Israel Putnam after the battle, and descended to his son, Peter Schuyler Putnam of Williamstown, and later to his grandson, John Pope Putnam, a resident of Cambridge, N. Y., until his death in 1868.

News of the Battle of Lexington reached Albany, May 1, 1775, whereupon the Committee of Safety met at John Lansing's Inn. Lucas Cassidy was sent forth to beat a drum and John Ostrander to ring a bell to summon the inhabitants to the market-house. The Albanians wrote the Boston Committee of War that: "They desired to promote the weal of the American Cause," and since they were born free, they proclaimed that, "they would live and die so, and transmit that inestimable blessing to posterity."¹

On May 4, 1775, the Albany Committee organized a regular militia. Directly after the Battle of Bunker Hill in June, both Boston and New York harbors were fortified, although William Tryon arrived from England and took the Great Seal as the last Royal Governor of New York.

¹ Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles*, pp. 274-275.

Maj.-Gen. Philip Schuyler, Maj. Joseph Hawley, Talbot Francis, Oliver Wolcott, and Volckert Douw, on August 15th, held a conference with the Mahican and Mohawk sachems at the Old Dutch Church, in Albany, in order to tell them the cause of the Revolution against King George. They said:

Many of his councillors are proud and wicked men. . . . They tell us now that they will slip their hands into our pockets, without asking, as if they were their own pockets, and will take at their pleasure from us our charters . . . our plantations, our houses and goods, whenever they please, without asking our permission. . . . This is a family quarrel between us and Old England! You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not want you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire that you remain at home and join neither party, but keep the hatchet deeply buried.¹

¹ Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles*, pp. 277-278.

CHAPTER XV

THE HEROES OF FORT TICONDEROGA,¹ MAY 10

1775

But for you, there is no middle fortune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your minds, and once again I say you are conquerors!—HANNIBAL's Address to the Carthaginians, before their March against the Roman Capitol.

Samuel Adams—John Brown—James Easton of Massachusetts—Samuel Parsons—Edward Mott—Noah Phelps of Connecticut—Ethan Allen—Seth Warner—Samuel Herrick of Vermont—Rallying Salisbury, Berkshire, and Bennington Boys—Benedict Arnold and Colonial Rivalry—Surrender of Ticonderoga to Ethan Allen—Capture of Ethan Allen by the British at Montreal, September 25, 1775—The Hero of Fort Ticonderoga.

THE inhabitants of the Hoosac and Walloomsac valleys proved the first to take definite action against the oppressors of the Crown. The first Revolutionary Councils of Safety met between Salisbury, Pittsfield, Williamstown, and Bennington Centre.

Dr. Samuel Adams, the "Father of the Revolution," assembled with Joseph Warren and others of Massachusetts, February 15, 1775, to consider diplomatic correspondence with the Canadian officials before the formal Declaration of American Independence. John Brown of Pittsfield, a spirited young lawyer lately graduated from Yale, was

¹ Rev. Zadoc Thompson, Lecture at Unveiling of Kinney's Statue of Ethan Allen at Burlington, Vermont, March 16, 1852; Gov. Hiland Hall, "The Hero of Ticonderoga in 1775," *Vt. Hist. Soc.* October 18, 1869; Hon. L. E. Chittenden, "Who Took Ticonderoga?" *Vt. Hist. Soc.*, Oct. 8, 1872; Prof. A. L. Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 32, 33, 60, 1899.

appointed to convey the letters of the Boston Committee of War to Canada during the latter part of February. He was also advised to make observations of the strength of the British fortress on Lake Champlain.

On his march northward, Brown consulted with the Councils of Safety at Williamstown and at Bennington. Col. Ethan Allen of the latter place appointed Peter Sunderland, one of his trusted messengers, to accompany Brown to Canada. Allen assured Brown that if the sum of £300 were advanced to equip an expedition against Fort Ticonderoga, he would lead his Green Mountain Boys' militia against the formidable fortress. Brown despatched a letter to Adams and Warren of the Boston Council and advised a speedy reduction of Fort Ticonderoga, before colonial hostilities began.

The messages of the Councils of Safety during the Revolution were executed with speed and secrecy. Col. Samuel H. Parsons, an assemblyman of Connecticut, while returning from Massachusetts to Hartford, April 26, 1775, met Benedict Arnold, a flour merchant of New Haven, marching with a band of volunteers to Cambridge, Mass. Arnold reported the weakened condition of Fort Ticonderoga to Assemblyman Parsons, and remarked that the cannon would be useful for the Continental Army. He made no allusion, however, to his own secret dreams of capturing the Fort.

In a letter addressed to Joseph Trumbull in June, Assemblyman Parsons affirms that he arrived at Hartford, Thursday morning, April 27th, after meeting Arnold. He held a council with his friends, Col. Sam Wyllys and Mr. Dean, and stated that: "They first undertook and projected the taking of Ticonderoga." He consulted Thomas Mumford, Christopher Leffingwell, and Adam Babcock later, and they obtained the required sum of £300 to finance the expedition on their personal notes from the Connecticut Treasury.

The sum of money was entrusted to Adam Babcock, Noah Phelps, and Bernard Romans on Friday, April 28th, and they marched to Col. Ethan Allen at Bennington as advance messengers from Capt. Edward Mott of the Hartford Council of Safety. Salisbury, Conn., was at that time the home of Heman and Levi Allen. Heman Allen joined Adam Babcock and his party the next day and pushed on to locate Ethan Allen and his captains.

Heman Allen, on his march to Bennington, enlisted young Josiah Dunning, a member of Capt. Eli Noble's Pownal company of militia. He organized a volunteer company and chose Samuel Wright, eldest son of Landlord Charles Wright, as their captain, and marched direct to Castleton, twenty-five miles east of Fort Ticonderoga. Josiah Dunning, then twenty years of age, was a son of Michael Dunning from Newton, Conn., who settled on a farm at the foot of Northwest Hill, opposite the "Weeping Rocks" in Pownal, Vt., during 1762.

Captain Mott arrived at Salisbury and was joined by Levi Allen and fifteen other volunteers before he reached Pittsfield, where he held a council of war with John Brown and Col. James Easton. Colonel Easton rallied sixty Berkshire Boys in Lanesboro, Cheshire, Adams, New Ashford, Hancock, and Williamstown.

Capt. William Douglass and his Hancock company, together with Capt. Israel Harris's Williamstown volunteers, included several soldiers who subsequently fought in the Battle of Bennington. Captain Harris in 1775 was twenty-eight years of age and hailed from Cornwall, Conn., the home of the Allen brothers. He was a brother-in-law of Clark Morse, the latter, who settled in Williamstown, on Northwest Hill, two miles south of Michael Dunning's Pownal farm.

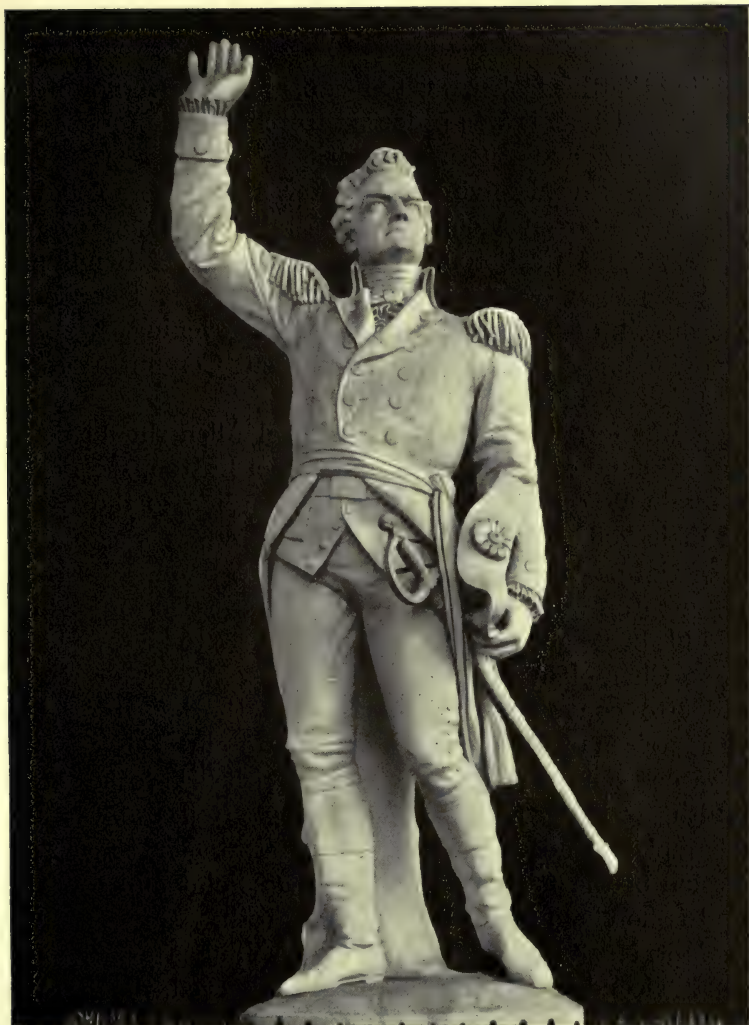
Captain Mott and Colonel Easton, with their seventy-six

Salisbury and Berkshire volunteers, assembled on the Square in Williamstown before they marched to Bennington Centre. Noah Phelps, Adam Babcock, Bernard Romans, and Heman Allen had meanwhile marched forward to act their part. Heman Allen located his brother, Ethan Allen, in Arlington; Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans were sent to reconnoitre Fort Ticonderoga, and Adam Babcock awaited the arrival of Ethan Allen at the Catamount Tavern at Bennington Centre. Bernard Romans, one of the first American map-makers, was a friend of Benedict Arnold. He was in an envious mood and deserted Noah Phelps on his march to the Fort. Arnold reports that he sent him later to Albany.¹ Captain Mott recorded that his men were "all glad" when Romans deserted the expedition, since he had caused much trouble on the march. Romans was falsely reported by Arnold's admirers as "the eminent engineer and leading spirit" of the Ticonderoga expedition.

Colonel Allen and Captains Warner and Herrick were on hand at the Catamount Tavern to welcome Captain Mott, Colonel Easton, John Brown, and Captains Douglass and Harris. It was one of the most famous councils of war in the history of the Revolution. Colonel Allen later sent Gershorm Beach of Rutland, a fleet-footed messenger, to rally the Green Mountain Boys' militia. Within twenty-four hours he covered a circuit of sixty miles between Castleton, Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, and Whiting to Hand's Cove in Shoreham, on the east shore of Lake Champlain, opposite Fort Ticonderoga.

Beach was an intimate friend of the Tory, Maj. Philip Skene, and visited Skenesboro Manor now Whitehall, Saturday, May 6th. Major Skene was not at home, but his son informed Beach that he was momentarily expected,

¹ See Note 18 at end of volume.



Col. Ethan Allen, the Hero of Fort Ticonderoga, in the act of demanding the surrender of Captain De Laplace and his British Garrison and Flag at Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>To-morrow eve must the voice be still,</i> | <i>In Ticonderoga's towers,</i> |
| <i>And the step must fall unheard,</i> | <i>And ere the sun rise twice again,</i> |
| <i>The Briton lies by the blue Champlain,</i> | <i>Must they and their lake be ours.</i> |

BRYANT: *The Green Mountain Boys*, at the Castleton Council held Monday evening, May 8, 1775.

adding that his father was to be appointed Governor of New York, and that it was proposed to rebuild the fortresses at Ticonderoga and at Crown Point.

Within seventy-five hours after Beach completed his circuit the Green Mountain Boys rallied, Sunday evening, May 7th, at Castleton, sixty miles north of Bennington, and less than twenty-five miles east of Fort Ticonderoga. A council of war was held, Monday evening, May 8th. Capt. Edward Mott of the Connecticut Committee of War was chosen chairman.

It was formally voted that Colonel Allen should be first in command of the expedition; Colonel Easton, second; and Captain Warner, third,—ranking according to the number of their volunteers enlisted. Each company was assigned a special part in the expedition. Capt. Samuel Herrick of Bennington was sent with thirty men to seize Major Skene and his boats about East Bay, which were to be rowed down Lake Champlain to Shoreham before dawn, May 10th, in order to convey Allen's militia over the lake to surprise the garrison of Fort Ticonderoga. Captain Douglass of the Hancock company was appointed to visit his brother-in-law, Smith, residing at Brideport, twelve miles down Lake Champlain, and endeavor by some stratagem to get possession of the King's boats at Crown Point and row them up to Shoreham before light on May 10th.

Capt. Noah Phelps, in the habit of a Yankee farmer, visited Fort Ticonderoga meanwhile and observed the garrison's strength. He engaged the lad, Nathan Beeman, to meet Col. Ethan Allen and his militia before sunrise on May 10th and conduct them through the wicket gate to the British stronghold. Phelps affected a most awkward appearance and inquired for a barber, under the pretence of desiring to be shaved. He amused the gallants of Old England with his simple questions and meanwhile observed the position of

the artillery. He certainly returned to Colonel Allen's camp a type of those Yankee varlets of Connecticut described by Washington Irving as belonging to the Dutch period of "Fort Good Hope."

After the close of the Castleton Council, May 8th, a gust of confusion arose with the arrival of Benedict Arnold. He was clad in a colonel's epauletted uniform, accompanied by a colored servant. Each was mounted upon a very much winded steed. Arnold presented Chairman Mott his Massachusetts Commission¹ as colonel of an expedition to be sent against Fort Ticonderoga. He claimed that it gave him the *right* to command Colonel Allen's Green Mountain Boys' militia, financially equipped by the Connecticut Committee of War.

Colonial rivalry, personal honor, and national glory were all at stake. The consternation of Chairman Mott and Colonel Allen's Green Mountain Boys was intense. The latter swore in chorus that rather than be led by Colonel Arnold against Ticonderoga, they would disband and return to their homes. Arnold's Commission advised him "to enlist his own men, not to exceed four hundred," at the expense of the Massachusetts Congress, and he was directed "to act according to best skill and discretion for publick interest." Chairman Mott called a second council, and it was decided that Benedict Arnold should join the expedition, with rank of colonel, but without separate command. It was, however, voted that Colonel Allen should head the central file; Colonel Easton, the right file; and Colonel Arnold, the left file, upon marching against Fort Ticonderoga.

After Benedict Arnold held his interview with Assemblyman Parsons of Connecticut, April 26th, he proceeded to the Massachusetts Committee of War at Cambridge and re-

¹ See Note 19 at end of volume.

vealed his plans for capturing Fort Ti. His Commission,¹ dated May 3, 1775, was signed by Chairman Benjamin Church, Jr., and Secretary William Cooper of the Committee of Safety. He was assigned a colonel's uniform, a colored servant, steed, and funds to enlist his own volunteers.

Col. Benedict Arnold journeyed from Cambridge to Old Deerfield; thence over Hoosac Mountain to Williamstown. According to his Bill of Expenses,² he left £18 with Captain Oswald, May 4th, to rally his Shrewsbury militia, and on May 6th, Arnold crossed the Deerfield ferry and breakfasted at Landlord Talah Barnard's Tavern in Old Deerfield Village. He purchased a herd of fat cattle of Thomas W. Dickenson, and engaged him and his brother, Consider, to drive the herd to Fort Ticonderoga. The bargain, with usual "toddy-sticks," was confirmed over the bar in the North Room of the inn. Meanwhile the Negro servant had the horses shod and they rode over Hoosac Mountain.

While at Capt. Moses Rice's Charlemont Inn, Arnold enlisted a lad named White, who became the grandfather of Joseph White, the late Treasurer of Williams College. Young White marched to Ticonderoga in less than a week and was present at Allen's and Arnold's contest for the rights of command of the captured Fort. He related to his grandson that Col. Ethan Allen "lacked grit," and that Allen made concession to Arnold by finally, on May 13th, placing him in command of Crown Point and the Lake Champlain schooner.

Colonel Arnold arrived at Capt. Nehemiah Smedley's Green River homestead in Williamstown on the evening of May 6th. Smedley's³ house was not finished until after the surrender of the British at Old Saratoga in 1777, although the cellar kitchen in 1775, with its large stone oven, was in

¹ See Note 19 at end of volume.

² See Note 18 at end of volume.

³ See illustration, Chapter VIII.

baking order. Arnold left £3 with Captain Smedley, according to his Bill of Expenses, to bake a batch of rye and Indian bread, to be forwarded later by the Dickenson brothers to Fort Ticonderoga.

It was in Williamstown that Colonel Arnold first heard of Capt. Edward Mott's Connecticut council of war and Colonel Easton's and Colonel Allen's rally of the Berkshire and Bennington Boys. In consequence, Arnold headed his steed direct for Castleton early on May 7th.

The Green Mountain Boys forced Arnold to accept his fate after the second Castleton Council, May 8th. It was late before Captain Herrick's party set out that night and captured Maj. Philip Skene. A guard was placed in command of Skene's Whitehall Manor and all available boats were seized and rowed to Shoreham. Major Skene and his two lieutenants were escorted by Captain Nichols and Lieutenants Hickok and Halsey to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull at Hartford, Conn., where they arrived, May 12th.

It proved a serious problem to seize boats sufficient in number to convey all of Colonel Allen's regiment over Lake Champlain to Fort Ticonderoga before the dawn. Capt. William Douglass, on the evening of May 8th, marched toward Crown Point. He stopped at the home of Capt. John Chipman,¹ undoubtedly a son of the famous Tory hunter-scout, Nathaniel Bumppo-Shipman, Sr., of Falls Quequick in Dutch Hoosac. Douglass confided his scheme of capturing the King's boats at Crown Point, and his conversation was overheard by James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler. These lads conceived of a secret plan of decoying Old Black Tom, the commander of Major Skene's oar-boat near Willow Point. They hastily dressed, seized their guns and a jug of rum—the latter known to be the most powerful weapon with which to waylay Tom and his oarsmen. On their journey Wilcox

¹ Also spelled Shipman or Schipman.

and Tyler were joined by four neighboring boys. Old Tom was soon hailed and the boys offered to help row his boat to Shoreham if he would carry them immediately to join a hunting party awaiting them at that place. This stratagem proved successful, with the aid of the "little brown jug."

Captain Douglass and his party meanwhile secured a scow and a few small boats at Brideport, and Noah Phelps and Nathan Beeman posted at their appointed places, quietly fishing on Lake Champlain, greatly aided the expedition. About one hundred and eighty troopers assembled at Shoreham before dawn, May 10th, ready to advance against the Fort, and several of Arnold's volunteers arrived also the next morning.

The boats at Shoreham conveyed only eighty-three men over the Lake, including Colonel Allen, Captain Mott, Colonel Easton, and Colonel Arnold, and their men. Capt. Seth Warner's volunteers awaited the return of the boats to convey them later, but time was precious and the big oar-boats moved slowly. The rising sun brightening the horizon led Colonel Allen to hold a council of war. It was hastily agreed that if they delayed until Warner's troops arrived, Captain De Laplace and his British garrison would be astir.

Colonel Allen speedily formed his eighty-three men into three files, headed by Nathan Beeman and himself. The road leading from the Lake Champlain landing permitted three men to march abreast. But before marching orders were given, Colonel Allen inspired his Green Mountain Boys. He said:

Friends and fellow soldiers, you have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged,

as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few moments; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any one contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelocks.¹

Colonel Allen and Nathan Beeman lead the central file of the troops through the wicket gate to the Fortress. The garrison still slept, all save the single sentry, and Captain De Laplace was soon aroused by three hearty cheers from the Green Mountain Boys, drawn up in battle order within the Fortress's parade. Captain De Laplace's quarters were soon located, and in rough and stentorian voice Colonel Allen commanded the "old rat" to get out of bed instantly and surrender the Fort, or he would sacrifice the garrison. De Laplace appeared at his barrack door with his trousers in his hands, and inquired by what authority the surrender was demanded. Colonel Allen replied rotundly: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" That authoritative demand, with Allen's sword raised defiantly over his head, proved too much for Captain De Laplace, and he surrendered the Fortress without the firing of a single gun. Captain Warner's troops arrived soon after Colonel Allen captured the first British flag of the Revolution.

It is better for Arnold's ill-fame to-day that he be forgotten. One of his champions, known as "Veritas," was Capt. Israel Harris of Williamstown. In 1832, Harris applied for a Revolutionary pension. He often related to his grandsons, Prof. James Butler of the University of Wis-

¹ Col. Ethan Allen, *Narrative of Captivity*.

consin and the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Harris Butler of Schaghticoke, that he was the third man in single file to enter the gate of Fort Ticonderoga, and that only Arnold and Allen preceded him. "Veritas"¹ reported that Colonel Arnold rushed five yards and entered the Fortress ahead of Colonel Allen.

After the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775, Allen wrote a letter to the "Committee of Correspondence for the City and County of Albany." He described the manner in which he and Colonel Easton surprised the Fort, and added that Colonel Arnold was present.

Capt. Edward Mott, chairman of the Connecticut Council, commissioned Colonel Allen Commander of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775, until further orders from the "Continental Congress." Later Colonel Hinman of Connecticut took command of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the Allen and Easton troops were dismissed, although Capt. Samuel Wright's Pownal company, according to Josiah Dunning's application for a pension in 1827, remained in service a few weeks longer. Dunning was present, May 11th, when Arnold claimed Allen's right to command the Fortress by virtue of his Commission from the Massachusetts Council. "Allen and Arnold had drawn their swords, and the men under their command had raised and cocked their muskets and presented their bayonets, when a private, named Edward Richards, stepped forward with great firmness, commanded both officers to put up their swords, and ordered the soldiers of both parties to arrest the two leaders if they did not immediately desist."² They retired and agreed upon fighting a duel later.

¹ "Veritas," "Report of Capture of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775," *Am. Archives*, Series 4, vol. ii., p. 1086. Cited in Perry's *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 32-33.

² Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 60.

Allen
May 10th 1775

The Honorable
Committee of Correspondence for the
City and County of Albany

Gentlemen I have the Inexpressible Satisfaction
on to Acquaint you that at Day break of the
Eleventh Instant Pursuant to my Directions
from sundry Leading Gentlemen in the Colonies
of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut I took
the Forts of Ticonderoga with about one Hundred
and thirty Green Mountain Boys Col. Easton
with about ~~forty~~ ^{seventy} Veteran Soldiers Distinguished
themselves in the Action Col. Arnot Entered the
fort with me Side by Side the Guard were
so Suppressed that contrary our Expectation Did
Not fire on us but fled with Precipitancy we then
Immediately Entered the Fort and took the
Garrison Prisoners without Bloodshed or any
Resistance they consisted of one Captain and a
Lieutenant and forty two men Little more
Need be said You know Governor Carlton of
Canada will Court himself to release it and as
your Country is dearer than any other Part of
the Colonies and as your Inhabitants have formerly
Manifested their Zeal in the Cause of their Coun-
try Expect Immediate Assistance from you
Both in men and Provision You cannot but

Your selves too much in so Glorious a Cause
the Number of men Need be there at the first
Till the other Colonies can have Time to
muster I am apprehensive of a sudden and
+ Quick Attack May be Quick to our relief
and send us five Hundred men Immediately
Yours Not your Friend and Humble
servant Ethan Allen Commander of the

Letter of Col. Ethan Allen, addressed to the Committee of Correspondence for the City and County of Albany, dated May 10, 1775, after his capture of the first English Flag during the Revolution, and the Surrender of Fort Ticonderoga.

Crown Point was captured by Seth Warner's and Remember Baker's companies, May 12th. Owing to Arnold's superior skill in navigation, he was placed in command of Crown Point and the Lake Champlain schooner; and Allen, in command of Skene's fleet of large boats. Arnold captured a British vessel in the harbor of St. Johns, Canada, and if his party had been a trifle larger, he might have become master of that city. Capt. Samuel Wright's Pownal company accompanied Arnold to St. Johns and after their return to Crown Point, Josiah Dunning was engaged on Lake Champlain's boats until discharged in September. The Berkshire and Bennington Boys reorganized later under Colonels Simonds, Easton, Allen, and Warner.

Colonel Allen's Letter, addressed to the "Albany Gentlemen," after the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga, was utterly ignored. In it he said:

As your county is nearer than any other part of the Colonies, and your inhabitants have thoroughly manifested their zeal in the cause of their country, I expect immediate assistance from you, both in men and provision. You cannot exert yourselves too much in so glorious a cause. . . . Pray be quick to our relief, and send five hundred men immediately.

Colonel Hinman from Connecticut soon took command of the Fort, and Colonel Allen and Captain Warner attended the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, when the Green Mountain Boys were paid for their services at Fort Ticonderoga. The President of Congress, however, advised the Provincial Congress of New York to organize a regiment and choose officers and men from Colonel Allen's Green Mountain Boys.

The Provincial Regiment was organized, but Seth Warner was chosen colonel. Allen rose above this military slight and

assured Gen. Philip Schuyler that he desired to remain in the service. General Schuyler was ill at this time and appointed General Montgomery and Colonel Hinman to command Col. Seth Warner's regiment at Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Capt. Remember Baker's scouting party from Colchester was sent in August, 1775, to locate General Carleton's encampment near St. Johns. Baker left his boat near the Isle aux Noix, four miles above the city, and a party of Indians stole it the next morning and sent a ball through Baker's head. Capt. Remember Baker was a soldier in Colonel Wooster's Connecticut Regiment, and he and Israel Putnam were known as the avengers of Lord Howe's death in 1758. During October, 1775, a soldier of Colonel Warner's Continental Regiment killed the Indian who shot Baker. He recovered his powder-horn and presented it to Baker's son, who in 1795 joined General Wayne's army against the Indians of the Ohio Valley. The historic powder-horn is still preserved among the Revolutionary relics in Memorial Hall at Old Deerfield, Mass.

After Baker's death, Ethan Allen and John Brown were sent with scouting parties to determine the Canadians' attitude toward the Americans' cause. This proved unfortunate for Allen, as there appears to have existed a military jealousy between the Berkshire and Bennington Boys' militia at the time. The closing story is this:

Colonel Allen met Major Brown between Longueuil and La Prairie, and they agreed to attempt the capture of Montreal. Brown and his two hundred men were to cross the St. Lawrence above Montreal on the night of September 24th; and Allen and his one hundred and ten men were to cross the river below the city. At a certain signal from Brown, they were to rush against the city from opposite sides and seize the guards. Allen waited for Brown's signal, but either through cowardice or jealousy, Brown never

crossed over the river. The position and numbers of Allen's party were reported to General Carleton. Allen, deserted in the heat of battle by his Canadians, was, therefore, forced to surrender, September 25, 1775.

In Allen's *Narrative of Captivity* in England's jails, written in 1778, he says that General Prescott ordered thirteen of the Canadian prisoners captured with him thrust through the breast with bayonets. He stepped between them and the executioner and told General Prescott "to thrust his bayonet into *his* breast, for he was the sole cause of the Canadians taking up arms." He continues: "The guards in the meantime, rolling their eyeballs from the General to me, as though impatiently waiting his dread commands to sheathe their bayonets in my breast. I could, however, plainly discern that they were in suspense and quandary about the matter. This gave me additional hopes of succeeding; for my design was not to die, but to save the Canadians by a *finesse*."

The British officers held a bitter hatred for Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain captains. Lieut.-Governor Colden sent a doleful account of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga to Lord Dartmouth, and consoled him by avowing that: "The loyal loving subjects of the King in New York were not concerned in the Revolution. The only people of the Province, who had any hand in the expedition, were the lawless people whom your Lordship has heard much of, under the name of the 'Bennington Mob.'"

As their ring-leader and as the "avenger of the oppressed," Allen, loaded with irons, was sent to one of England's gloomy prison pens. Gov. Thomas Chittenden later recorded that: "In all places he remained Ethan Allen and no one else."

CHAPTER XVI

THE COUNCILS OF SAFETY

1775-1778

Their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equalled.—GENERAL BURGOTNE'S LETTER TO LORD GERMAINE.

Grand Committee—Warner's Walloomsac Boys—Albany Council of Safety—Knickerbacker's Dutch Hoosac Boys—Simonds's English Hoosac Boys—Military Correspondence—Battle of White Plains—Vermont's Declaration of Independence—The Americans' Evacuation of Ticonderoga—Battle of Hubbardton—Stark's Bennington Encampment—Berkshire and Bennington Volunteers—Baum's British Army—Burgoyne's Orders to Colonel Baum.

THE united Councils of Safety of the Berkshire, Bennington, Rensselaer, and Washington militia, aided by the New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island Committees of War, played an important part in winning the victories of the Revolution.

The first fifteen meetings of the Grand Committee of the Green Mountain Boys, between October 25, 1764 and the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775, were not recorded. Eight of their Councils of Safety during the succeeding seventeen months, however, met to declare Vermont's Independence, frame its constitution, and organize its militia. Several of the Councils of Safety were held at Stephen Fay's Catamount Tavern at Bennington Centre. On the mantel in the council chamber was rudely carved "Council Room," above which appears a copy of the historic *Vermont Gazette*, bearing the motto of the Green Mountain Boys:

Pliant as reeds where streams of freedom glide,
Firm as the hills to stem oppression's tide.

After the capture of Col. Ethan Allen by the British on September 25, 1775, his youngest brother, Ira Allen, aided by Dr. Jonas Fay and Thomas Chittenden, assumed com-



The Catamount Tavern, first known as the Green Mountain Inn of the Green Mountain Boys. Built by Landlord Stephen Fay in 1766 and burned in 1871. A stuffed catamount's skin became the Tavern sign, after which the place became known as the Catamount Tavern. The Councils of Safety of the Green Mountain Boys were held at the Catamount Tavern during the Revolution until Vermont's admittance to the Federal Union in 1791.

mand of military affairs on the Green Mountain frontier. Fay's *Records*¹ of Vermont's Councils of Safety contains

¹ The late Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, editor of the *New York Historical Magazine*, obtained a loan of Fay's *Records* about 1860 from Mr. E. B. Safford of West Rupert, Vt. He returned the ledger cover minus the *Records*, and sold them to the Library of Congress in 1880. Albert S. Batchelder of New Hampshire unearthed the valuable documents recently, and the late Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont photolithographed Fay's *Records*. Copies are now on file in all the County Clerk Offices of Vermont and in many public libraries. Fay's original *Records* are now restored to the Secretary's Office at Montpelier, Vt.

George Grenville Benedict, "Report on Recovery of Fay Records," *Proc. Vt. Hist. Soc.*, pp. 49-55, 1903, 1904.

forty folio pages, relating to seventeen meetings between July 26, 1775 and December 24, 1777.



*Council Chamber of the Green Mountain Boys in Calamount Tavern.
Around the historic Fireplace were held many Councils of
Safety before the Battle of Bennington.*

The Albany Committee of Safety, after the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, organized the 14th Regiment of New York under General Ten Broeck. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, was commissioned colonel of the Eastern Division of the regiment in Dutch Hoosac. His officers and soldiers resided in Old Schaghticoke and Cambridge military districts and

were recorded by Matthew Vischer, Clerk of Albany County. The field-officers¹ of his regiment's eight companies were as follows:

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| Colonel | Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d |
| Lieut.-Col. | Daniel Bratt |
| 1st Maj. | Derrick Van Vechten |
| 2d Maj. | John Van Rensselaer |
| Adjunct | Charles Toll |
| Quartermaster | Ignace Kipp |

First Company:

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| Captain | Hendrick Vanderhoof |
| 1st Lieut. | Samuel Ketchum |
| 2d Lieut. | Nathaniel Ford |
| Ensign | Jacob Hallenbeck |

Second Company:

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| Captain | Walter Groesbeck |
| 1st Lieut. | Wynant Van Denburgh |
| 2d Lieut. | Peter Davenport |
| Ensign | Jacob Yates |

Third Company:

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| Captain | John J. Bleecker |
| 1st Lieut. | John Snyder |
| 2d Lieut. | Matthew D. Garmo |
| Ensign | Stephen Thorne |

Fourth Company:

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| Captain | Lewis Van Woerd |
| 1st Lieut. | John Schouten |
| 2d Lieut. | Joseph Boyce |
| Ensign | John Morrel |

¹ *Documentary History, New York.*

Fifth Company:

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| Captain | Fenner Palmer |
| 1st Lieut. | John Johnson |
| 2d Lieut. | James Williamson |
| Ensign | Jonathan Davis |

Sixth Company:

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| Captain | Daniel B. Bratt |
| 1st Lieut. | Michael Champman |
| 2d Lieut. | Isaac Lansing |
| Ensign | Francis Hogel |

Seventh Company:

| | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| Captain | John (?) Van Rensselaer |
| 1st Lieut. | Michael Ryan |
| 2d Lieut. | Name unknown |
| Ensign | Peter Hartwell |

Minute Men Company:

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| Captain | John J. Bleecker |
| 1st Lieut. | William Thorne |
| 2d Lieut. | Thomas Hicks |
| Ensign | Jonathan Rowland |

Col. Johannes Knickerbacker, 2d, in 1776 sent out orders to his several companies to remain in readiness for action. The original copy of the order to Capt. John Snyder's Tomhannac Company of Pittstown is found in the upper front hall of Knickerbacker Mansion, dated as follows:

Com. the Publick Service
 Captain. John Snyder or Next
 Commanding Officer
 At Tomhenich.

SCHACTOKOOK, May 30th, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

By order of general Ten Broock it is now become my duty, as We do not know now how soon the Country

The Hoosac Valley

may call upon us for our Military service, To earnestly recommend it unto you to use your utmost endeavour with the Company under Your Command as well as officers and privates that they shall Pay due obedience & strictly observe the Rules and orders for Regulating the militia of the Colony of New York Recommended by the Provincial Congress, the 22d day of August and the 20th day of December last, and *inper te reculær* the 6h and 7h Vols. Sections of said rules & orders the 5h section of the Appendix to the said Rules and Orders. If you or any of your officers have not the above printed rules they may be furnished with them by Applying unto Matthew Vischer Esq., Secretary of the Committee for the City & County of Albany. And also Deesire that you furnish me With a List of the Company under your command by the 5h day of June next and inform me in What manner the Men are equipped as to arms ammunition & Accoutrements.

I am Your Most

Hum. Serv't

JOHN KNICKERBACKER.

The New York Provincial Congress on July 5, 1776, directed that a regiment be reorganized and officered among the Green Mountain Boys who had distinguished themselves in Col. Seth Warner's Continental Regiment in Canada during the campaign of 1775. Among the officers chosen may be named: Col. Seth Warner, Lieut.-Col. Samuel Safford, Lieut. Joseph Safford, Adj. Benjamin Hopkins, and Ens. Jacob Safford, all of Bennington.

At that time Gen. Benedict Arnold controlled the navy yard of the Patriots at Skenesboro. He built a flotilla of boats, manned with fifty-five guns and seventy swivels, requiring three hundred and ninety-five men. General Carleton controlled the English navy yard at St. Johns and built a fleet of boats. In order to expedite work at the

Patriots' navy yard, General Gates ordered Captain Eddy's Rhode Island Company of thirty-nine ship-carpenters to advance from Providence to Skenesboro. On their march, they were exposed to smallpox, and the Council of Safety of Williamstown quarantined the men in the John Smedley mill-house until Dr. William Page vaccinated them. At that time inoculation for smallpox was considered a "diabolical practice of quacks." Dr. Page on August 17, 1776, addressed a letter¹ to General Gates, stating that Eddy's company might safely march for Skenesboro in eight days. Brig.-Gen. David Waterbury, Jr., however, had already formally discharged them on August 12th, and they were not allowed to march on to Skenesboro. Most of the men settled in Hoosac Valley later.

The military correspondence of Maj.-Gen. Philip Schuyler and Gen. Horatio Gates, between Col. Benjamin Simonds and the Berkshire Committee of Safety during 1775, is of interest to Hoosactonians. These letters reveal the prompt response of the Berkshire and Bennington militia to both Schuyler's and Gates's orders:

WILLIAMSTOWN, September, 12, 1776.

SIR:

Agreeable to an express from his Honour, Major-General Schuyler, I have caused the Militia under my command to be on their march to Tyonderoga. I thought proper to send this by express, so that in case the men should not be wanted, they may have early orders for their return, that so expenses of their march further than necessary may be prevented.

I am your Honour's Most obedient servant,

BEN'J SIMONDS

Colonel.

TO GENERAL GATES.

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 101.

The Hoosac Valley

TYONDEROGA, September 15, 1776.

SIR:

I this moment received your letter, dated Williamstown, 12th instant. As I did not send the orders for your march to camp, I could not take measures more early to stop your proceeding. The last account from General Arnold convinces me that there is no immediate necessity for the Militia coming forward at this time. A copy of his last letter to me I send you enclosed. The alarm was occasioned by some firing from our enemy on the shores opposite *Isle Aux Tetes*: and I believe a great number of small arms and cannon fired that and the succeeding days by brigades of the enemy at exercise at their post below, all which deceived the Commanding Officer at Crown Point.

A good road will be finished by this day sennight, from Rutland through Castleton to the east fort of Mount Independence, and an excellent bridge over Otter Creek at Rutland will be finished in three days. For the future, any body of men intended for our succor, should march that way.

The United States are, in general, obliged to you for your alertness to succor their army, and particular, Sir,

Yours &C. &C.

HO. GATES.

To COLONEL BENJAMIN SIMONDS.

A month later Maj.-General Schuyler sent a rallying message from his Schuylerville Mansion addressed to the Committee of Safety, Berkshire County, Mass., dated:

SARATOGA, October, 16, 1776.

GENTLEMEN:

Our fleet, which suffered severely in an engagement on the 12th instant with the enemy, has been still more severely handled in a subsequent one, insomuch that the enemy are left masters of the lake, and are now coming on to attack our army at Ticonderoga. In this situation

of affairs it is of utmost importance that the militia of your State should immediately march to sustain the army; and such as can march expeditiously, come by way of Albany, should do so, and the others take the route to Skenesborough. Each man should come provided with as much provision and ammunition as possible. The commanding officer should send me information of his march from time to time. I shall be either at Fort George or Skenesborough, but as I cannot determine which, it will be proper to send expresses to both places, and to forward copies of this to Governor Trumbull, and to every Committee in your State in a situation of affording assistance, and also to the neighbouring counties in the State of Connecticut. I must repeat, gentlemen, that it is of the utmost importance that I should be duly furnished with an account of the movements and numbers of the Militia.

From, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

To the Committee of the County of Berkshire.

A copy of General Schuyler's order was also sent with the following message to Hampshire, formerly a part of Berkshire County, by the Berkshire Committee:

STOCKBRIDGE, October 19, 1776.

GENTLEMEN:

The Militia of this County are rallied and on their march, and we think it of the utmost importance that you comply with the General's request immediately.

ERASTUS SERGEANT,

SAMUEL BROWN, Jun.,

ASA BENNETT.

Committee of Stockbridge.

To the Committee of Hampshire County.

General Schuyler sent a rallying message to Col. Moses Robinson, son of the late Capt. Samuel Robinson, Sr., then

in command of the Bennington Boys' militia. Nearly every man able to bear arms in the Walloomsac Valley volunteered, so that there were not enough left to operate the grist-mills or ship provincial stores to supply the army. The Americans, however, were victorious at that time, and the Bennington and Berkshire companies were soon discharged and received the official thanks of General Gates.

During the campaign of 1775, Capt. Isaac Wyman, last commander of Fort Massachusetts, who located at Keene, N. H., in 1761, was appointed lieutenant-colonel in Col. John Stark's New Hampshire militia; and during the campaign of 1776 he was commissioned colonel of a New Hampshire regiment by the Committee of Safety and ordered to march to Fort Ticonderoga on July 11, 1776. His commission is of local interest to Hoosactonians to-day, since several of his captains named were original settlers of English Hoosac towns:

July 11, 1776.

SIR:

I send you by bearer, your commission as Colonel of a Regiment of our Militia in the Service; also, thirty pounds, as two months' advance wages. As the troops will be along in a few days, it is expected that you will go along with them to Crown Point and join the army there. The Captains: Drew, Chandler, Shephard, Dearborn, Blanchard, Harper, Parker, and Weatherbee, with their companies, are to make your regiment. As it is of great consequence that the men are forwarded with speed, therefore expect you will do what is in your power that they make no delay at No. 4. You will also receive thirty-two pounds, advance wages for your Surgeon, Adjutant, and Quartermaster, with this and blank commissions for those officers to be appointed by you. Imploring the Divine assistance of your endeavors to serve your Country, and that you may return in safety, with laurels of victory, is the sincere desire of him who, in

behalf of the Committee, subscribes himself your very humble servant.

Name unknown.

TO COLONEL WYMAN.

On September 1, 1776, it is recorded that a "General Court Martial" was announced to sit at ten o'clock the following morning at "the President's tent, upon Mount Independence, for the trial of Colonel Wyman and such prisoners as shall be brought before the Court." Nothing more is heard of Colonel Wyman's military career during the Revolution after that date. Whether the rallying call for volunteers was sent to Berkshire, Bennington, Connecticut, or New Hampshire Committees, general obedience and speed were observed. On June 24, 1776, the Williamstown Boys voted that they would "solemnly engage their lives and fortunes" to support the Provincial Congress in its adopted measures for the formal subsequent Declaration of Independence, to be executed July 4, 1776. The Bennington Boys, also, held their first and second General Councils of Safety at Dorset on July 24th and September 25, 1776, at which Dr. Jonas Fay declared that New Hampshire Grants, comprising the Green Mountain territory, "ought to be and is forever hereafter to be considered a free and independent jurisdiction and State."

Col. Benjamin Simonds's regiment of Berkshire Boys, organized in 1775, was called out to meet the British in the fatal Battle of White Plains, on October 28, 1776. Col. Mark Hopkins, a member of the Stockbridge Council of Safety, and grandfather of the late President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, died the day before the battle, in which he had planned to participate. Between December 16, 1776, and March 29, 1777, Colonel Simonds and three hundred and eight of his Berkshire Boys took command of Fort Ticonderoga. The names of his field-officers, many of whom

The Hoosac Valley

were proprietors of the English Hoosac towns, are of interest to Hoosactonians. They are:

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| Colonel | Benjamin Simonds | Williamstown |
| Major | Caleb Hyde | Lenox |
| Adjutant | Daniel Horsford | Williamstown |
| Surgeon | Erastus Sergeant | Stockbridge |
| Assist. Surgeon | William Towner | Williamstown |
| Surgeon's Mate | Eldad Lewis | Lenox |
| Aide to Colonel | Joseph Simonds | Williamstown |

First Company:

| | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Captain | Erastus Sergeant Forty-three men | Stockbridge |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------|

Second Company:

| | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|---------|
| Captain | Amos Rathburn Fifty-eight men | Unknown |
|---------|----------------------------------|---------|

Third Company:

| | | |
|---------|--|---------|
| Captain | William Douglass Seventy-seven men from Hancock, Lanes- boro, and Williamstown. | Hancock |
|---------|--|---------|

Fourth Company:

| | | |
|---------|---|---------|
| Captain | Ephraim Fitch Fifty-seven men from Williamstown and adjoining towns. | Unknown |
|---------|---|---------|

Fifth Company:

| | | |
|---------|---|---------|
| Captain | George King Fifty-seven men from Cheshire, Williamstown, and other towns. | Unknown |
|---------|---|---------|

Sixth Company:

| | | |
|---------|---|---------|
| Captain | William Watkins | Unknown |
| | Forty-four men from English Hoosac towns. | |

Seventh Company:

| | | |
|---------|---|---------|
| Captain | David Wheeler | Unknown |
| | Forty-five men from Williamstown and adjoining towns. | |

During the third and fourth meetings of the General Council of Safety of the Green Mountain Boys, held at Westminster, October, 30, 1776 and January 15, 1777, Ira Allen presented Dr. Jonas Fay's Declaration of Vermont's Independence. The Continental Congress at Philadelphia, however, later refused to accept the Green Mountain settlers' Declaration of Rights, although Ira Allen and Dr. Thomas Young published papers supporting their contentions. After the thirteen United Colonies declared their Independence of the British Crown, all arbitrary acts of the New York Royal Colony also became null in the Green Mountain Republic. The settlers, therefore, considered themselves "without law or government, truly in a state of nature." They described and bounded the territory and published their State's Declaration of Independence¹ as the fourteenth in the Federal Union, under the name of "New Connecticut," in the *Connecticut Courant*, March 17, 1777.

The meeting of the General Council of Safety, held at Windsor, July 2, 1777, met to frame their State Constitution. Dr. Thomas Young of Philadelphia, in a letter dated in April, 1777, had advised "the people of Vermont to form forthwith

¹ Dr. Jonas Fay, *Records of Vermont Councils of Safety*.

a State Government," modelled after Pennsylvania's Constitution. This appears to have been the *first* time the name *Vermont* was applied to the territory. In October 1763, the Rev. Hugh Peters¹ had, however, christened the Green Mountain region *Verd-mont*, from the French *Verd* (green) and *mont* (mount). The "d" was dropped later and the present spelling, Vermont, adopted. Dr. Thomas Young died before the completion of Vermont's Declaration of Rights, although they were finished by Ira Allen, who collected fees for copying the model State Papers.

At the first session of the Windsor Constitutional Council of Safety, July 2, 1777, Ira Allen was appointed commander of frontier defences. Three days later news of the Evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga by the Patriots on July 5th, and the Battle of Hubbardton on the 6th, reached the Windsor Council. The Vermont Legislature had not yet elected its officers and the State was thus without a dollar in its treasury. Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden, however, sent express messengers to New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut Committees of Safety, urging militia for the defence of the Hoosac-Walloomsac frontier. John Langdon, of the New Hampshire Legislature, personally donated \$3000 in money and pledged \$3000 more in silver plate and seventy hogsheads of tobago rum, to be sold at auction to swell the military fund. Brig.-Gen. John Stark of Londonderry, N. H., signed an agreement with the Legislature, and the veterans who fought with him in the Battle of Bunker Hill, rallied at Fort No. 4, now the site of Charleston on the Connecticut.

Later the Bennington Council of Safety adjourned in despair over the problem of raising funds to equip a regiment. The youthful secretary, Ira Allen, was appointed "to dis-

¹ Rev. Samuel Peters, *Life of Rev. Hugh Peters*, 1807; Thompson's *Vermont Hist.*, Pt. I., p. 4; Pt. II., p. 108, 1842.

cover ways and means" and to report at sunrise. After a sleepless night he reported that "the property of all persons (Tories) who had or should join the common enemy (British) should be sequestered and sold at public auction to furnish the means of defence." On July 28th following, commissioners were appointed, who sold all Tory property and arms at auction. Fifteen days later Col. Samuel Herrick's Regiment of Vermont Rangers was organized, including Capt. Samuel Robinson's¹ East Bennington Company, Capt. Elijah Dewey's² West Bennington Company, and a portion of Col. Nathaniel Brush's Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, many of whom resided in Pownal and Stamford.

General Stark's letter, dated at Fort No. 4 on the Connecticut, July 29, 1777, informed the Bennington Council of Safety that the British had left Castleton with intention to march to the upper Walloomsac and seize Fort Bennington's Provincial storehouse. He was delayed at Fort No. 4, owing to scarcity of bullets. Only one pair of bullet-moulds were at hand to turn out balls, and nine of the eleven barrels of powder were condemned. Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden, however, urged Stark's men forward by sending food and rum to aid them on their march over the mountains to Manchester, where they arrived on August 8th. General Lincoln met General Stark with a message from Major-General Schuyler to march down to the east bank of the Hudson. Stark refused and showed his agreement made with the New Hampshire Legislature to hang on the New England border and strike as opportunity offered. General Schuyler wholly forgot to give orders to defend the Hoosac-Walloomsac frontier.

General Stark and his army, accompanied by Col. Seth Warner, on August 9th left Manchester and encamped late that evening on the meadow surrounding Colonel Herrick's

¹ See Note 20, at end of volume.

² See Note 21, at end of volume.

Tavern, two miles west of the Old First Church of Bennington Centre, now the site of the Otis Warren residence.

Burgoyne's army of 7000 troops consisted of over 4000 German hirelings, including Brunswickers, Dragoons, Hessians, and Chasseurs, and 3000 Britishers. Only 2800 of the German troops survived. For the death or non-return of each of the German soldiers England was forced to pay the petty sovereign £14—twice as much as she paid for those returned. Burgoyne's campaign of 1777 was mapped out for him by King George II. and his ministers. He left Quebec in May and was ordered to make a juncture with General Howe at Albany.

On the march south from Canada the British army swelled to nearly 10,000 men, including Canadians, Indians, and Tories. On June 1st, Burgoyne broke up his River Boquet Camp and marched for Fort Ticonderoga. The settlers fled in terror ahead of his Indian scouts. They left their tables as they rose from breakfast and set a torch to their dwellings. The British gained the Old Military Road and soon arrived at Fort Ticonderoga. The battery of the Patriots on Mount Independence in Orwell was connected with the main fortress on the west shore by a floating bridge. Both forts were within cannon shot of Sugar Loaf Mountain, known as Mount Defiance, where the British hauled formidable batteries during the night of July 5th. Before sunrise the Patriots evacuated Fort Ticonderoga and crossed on the bridge to Mount Independence. They were advancing toward Hubbardton, Vt., when the British overtook General St. Clare's rear-guard, composed of Warner's, Francis's, and Hale's nine hundred Continentals. The Battle of Hubbardton lasted three hours, until the British were reinforced by the Hessians, who marched forward singing their Battle Hymn of *Winfield's Fight*, louder than the sound of musketry. Colonel Francis was slain and Col-

onel Warner ordered his men to look out for themselves and meet him at Manchester. The loss of both the Americans and the Britishers was heavy; only about one hundred and fifty of Warner's Continentals reached Manchester safely.

General Burgoyne made his headquarters at Maj. Philip Skene's Whitehall Manor, where he remained until July 15th, when his army began to march down the Hudson to meet General Howe at Albany. Howe later took possession of New Jersey, New York, and Long Island forts, which led Gen. George Washington, stationed on lower Hudson, to exclaim that "as matters were going, Burgoyne would have little difficulty in reaching Albany." After the Evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga and the Battle of Hubbardton, however, General Schuyler rallied his scattered troops at Fort George. He removed all the cannon and stores, tore up the corduroy roads, and blocked the enemies' march between Skene's Whitehall Manor and Fort Edward, by felling trees across the muddy pass. The British and Germans were thus unable to march more than a mile a day for the following twenty-two days and arrived at Fort Edward on the upper Hudson, July 28th.

Those three weeks gave the Continental Councils of Safety time to rally large regiments and station them between Bemis Heights at Stillwater and Half-Moon at Waterford on the Hudson. Both the Hoosac and Walloom-sac passes were guarded by the redoubtable Stark, who was "Stark sure" of Burgoyne's intention to seize the Provincial stores at Bennington and Williamstown. After arriving at Fort Edward on July 28th, General Burgoyne held a council of war with his officers, and the Tory Major, Philip Skene, advised him of the Americans' stores of corn, wheat, horses, cattle, and wheel carriages at Fort Bennington. He needed horses and wagons to move provisions and artillery from Lake George to Albany, and 1300 horses to mount

General Riedesel's Dragoons. Burgoyne, therefore, ordered Col. Frederick Baum to head an expedition to seize Bennington's storehouse. He broke up his Fort Edward Camp and gave out that he was to march to Boston, although his secret plan was to make a juncture with General Howe, Colonel St. Leger, and Colonel Baum at Albany, and to eat his Christmas plum-pudding either there or in New York City.

However, the massacre of Jane McCrea by the Huron Chief, Wyandotte Panther, took place on July 27th, the day before Burgoyne broke up his Fort Edward Camp. Owing to her youth and the romance of her approaching marriage to David Jones, an officer in Peters's regiment of Loyalists, the massacre made a particularly deep impression. The news spread like magic and roused every American in the Colonies. A mighty hatred burned in the breasts of Whig and Tory alike. The wavering Loyalists now seized their muskets and volunteered for the Patriot Cause against the British Crown that stooped to enlist savages in their cause. Jane McCrea was conducted by two Indians to meet her lover at his brother's home near General Fraser's Camp, north of the site of Sandy Hill. A keg of rum was promised to her escorts for her safe arrival. The Indians quarrelled over the division of the rum, a mile south of her destination, and the Huron chieftain, in order to prevent his companion from receiving the rum, seized Jane McCrea's golden hair and scalped her beneath a pine tree still standing at Sandy Hill. General Burgoyne, however, pardoned Wyandotte Panther, and on August 5th, nine days after Jane McCrea's massacre, he obtained a pledge from seventeen tribes of the Abenakis and Iroquois nations to remain loyal to the British Cause. Burgoyne then sent forth a proclamation to the colonists in which he said: "I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain.

. . . I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in executing the vengeance of the Crown against the wilful outcasts."

Burgoyne's British army of disciplined men was exceptionally well supplied with officers and artillery. His generals—Philip, Fraser, Riedesel, Nesbit, Gordon, and Thatcher—were all men of skill and judgment.

Stark's American army included eighteen hundred undisciplined men, including over five hundred Berkshire volunteers, fresh from their harvest fields, armed with scythes, axes, hay-forks, and old flint-locks. They arrived at the North Farm Camp in Bennington on the rainy day of August 15th. Several of the Bennington County boys were bare-footed. On August 16th, during the raging battle, Captain Comstock led his Sunderland company to the battle-field without shoes. While in the act of trying on a dead Hessian's shoes, he was mortally wounded, after which the command of his company fell to Lieut. Eli Brownson, a brother-in-law of Col. Ethan Allen.

There was not a man left at Williamstown in Berkshire County except a cripple unable to bear arms. Capt. Samuel Clark's South Williamstown company contained sixty-five men; and Capt. Nehemiah Smedley's North Williamstown company contained ninety men. The military line separating the two districts ran east and west over the summit of Stone Hill. Capt. William Douglass's Hancock company contained forty-six men, and Captain Smith's company from the same neighborhood numbered thirty-one men, who belonged to Colonel Simonds's Berkshire Boys Regiment. Capt. Amariah Babbitt's New Ashford company included a large number of patriotic men, although the hilly town, famous for blackberry-briars, is nearly depopulated to-day. Capt. Daniel Brown's Lanesboro company contained forty-six men, and they carried to the field sixty pounds of powder, five

hundred and eighty pounds of lead, and two hundred and forty flints.

Lieut. William Ford of Brown's Pittsfield regiment headed



Catamount Monument, marking site of the Catamount Tavern on the Parade at Bennington Centre, Vermont. The Bronze Catamount of the Benningtonians still grins his teeth westward toward the Yorkers as in 1766 and 1771.

twenty-two men, including the famous "Fighting Parson," Thomas Allen, a cousin of Ethan Allen and first minister of Pittsfield, and several of his parishioners. Capt. Aaron Rowley led the Richmond company, containing twenty-six men, including David Rossiter of Brown's regiment. Capt.

Enoch Noble and Lieutenant Warner of Ashley's regiment also led two companies from Stockbridge, and Captain Solomon headed a company of Stockbridge Indians. A Lenox company included the sharpshooters Linus Parker, Sepp Ives, Isaac Cummings, and others. Captain Low's Cheshire company contained forty-four men, and Capt. Joab Stafford's company of Independents from Stafford Hill, a part of the town of Cheshire, contained forty-one men, including several Quakers from Windsor, Lanesboro, Adams, and North Adams. They took forty pounds of powder, one hundred and twenty pounds of lead, and seventy-two flints. Capt. Enos Parker led the Adams company, containing forty-one men.

Lead seemed to be one of the most needed articles among the New England troopers. On August 15th, mounted messengers were sent through Berkshire and Bennington counties collecting lead. Dr. Fay's *Records* of the Council of Safety contains the following message:

STATE OF VERMONT,
BENNINGTON IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY,
August 15, 1777.

SIR:

You are hereby desired to forward to this place, by express, all the lead you can possibly collect in your vicinity; as it is expected, every minute, an action will commence between our troops and the enemies, within four or five miles of this place, and the *lead* will be *positively wanted*.

By Order of the Council,

PAUL SPOONER,

D. Sec'y.

The Chairman of the Committee of Safety of Williamstown.

Col. Benjamin Simonds sent another special order for lead to his wife at River Bend Tavern in Williamstown, as follows:

The Hoosac Valley

MADAM: Please to send by bearer, Jedidiah Reed, 6 or 7 pounds of lead, by Col. Simonds's order.

By Order of Council,
PAUL SPOONER,
D. Sec'y.

Mrs. SIMONDS.

Lieut.-Col. Frederick Baum's expedition was equipped with Burgoyne's finest men, including General Riedesel's Dragoons, General Fraser's brigade of marksmen, and Peters's regiment of Loyalists, led under the Tory, Col. Francis J. Van Pfister of White House Manor of Dutch Hoosac. With these were also allied a regiment of Canadian Rangers, headed by one hundred and fifty Indians and two cannon and artillerists. Lieut.-Colonel Breyman and a strong body of German regulars, together with two large calibre cannon, were posted at the junction of the Batten Kill in Old Saratoga, twenty-two miles northwest of St. Croix Mills, as Baum's reinforcements.

Fifty Chasseurs joined Baum's army at eleven o'clock on the evening of the 11th of August, and at five o'clock the following morning Baum began his march to Fort Bennington up the Old Cambridge Road. He had not advanced a mile, however, when a message from Burgoyne ordered him to post his troops and await further orders. Burgoyne called a council of war and early on the morning of August 12th, gave Colonel Baum the following verbal orders:

"Mount your Dragoons, send me thirteen hundred horses; seize Bennington, cross the mountains to Rockingham and Brattleboro; try the affections of the country; meet me, a fortnight hence, in Albany."

CHAPTER XVII

THE VICTORY OF BENNINGTON AUGUST 16, 1777

Had each man been an Alexander or Charles of Sweden, he could not have behaved more gallantly. . . . The storming of the redoubts was the hottest I ever saw in my life: It represented one continued clap of thunder.—GENERAL STARK'S Despatch to General Gates.

Stark's Council of War—Colonel Gregg's Opening Skirmish—American and British Encampments—Baums's and Van Pfister's Redoubts—Eve before the Battle of Bennington—Patriots' Plan of Attack—Stark's Address to his Army—Storming of the British Redoubts—Surrender of Baum and Van Pfister—Colonel Breyman's Reinforcements—Colonel Warner's Continental Reinforcements—Hessian and Tory Prisoners—Patriots' Trophies of War—Centennial of the Victory of Bennington and Battle Monument, 1877.

THE early dawn of Wednesday, August 13, 1777, revealed a threatening storm cloud lowering over the brow of Mount St. Anthony, south of General Stark's Bennington Centre encampment. The scouts, Isaac Clark and Eleazar Eggerton, upon that eventful morning reported a party of Burgoyne's Tories and Indians to be marching up the Old Cambridge Road, toward St. Croix Mills, on the lower Walloomsac.

General Stark called a council of war with Warner, Herrick, Simonds,¹ Hobart,² Stickney, and Nichols at the "Cata-mountain Tavern." Lieut.-Colonel Gregg with two hundred sharpshooters later marched down the Walloomsac to head off the enemy at St. Croix, ten miles below Fort Bennington

¹ See illustration, Chapter VIII.

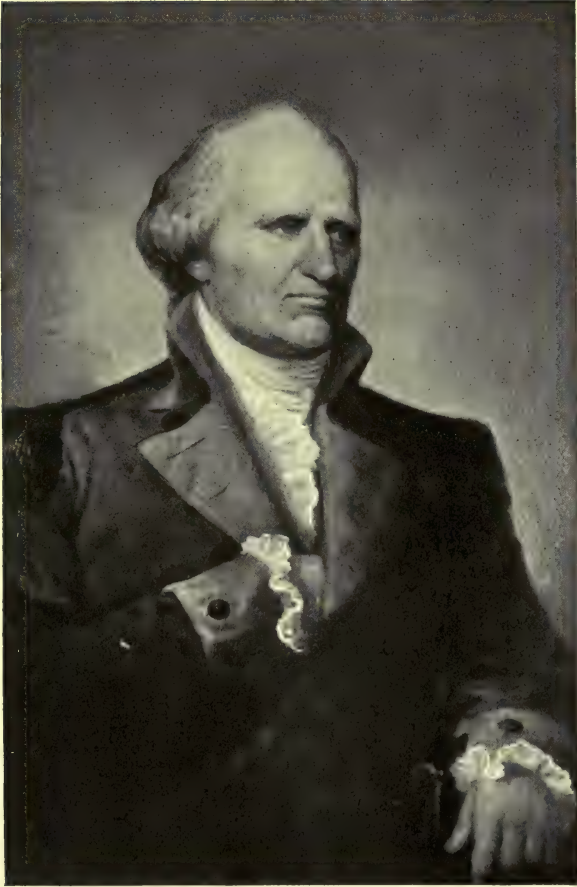
² Incorrectly reported Hubbard.

storehouse. Express messengers were sent north and south on their swiftest steeds with marching orders for Warner's Continental Regiment at Manchester and for Simonds's and Patterson's Berkshire Regiments at Williamstown and Pittsfield.

Stark broke up his Bennington Centre encampment, east of Herrick Tavern, before sunrise and marched four miles down the Walloomsac to the North Farm, two miles south of the present State Line Tavern. On the march he is said to have breakfasted at Sergt. Daniel Harmon's Inn, still standing, two miles west of the Battle Monument, and known as the "Old Yellow House."

Meanwhile, about four o'clock, Colonel Baum arrived at Lick's Tavern, near the junction of the Owl Kill with the Hoosac, now the site of Johnsonville, N. Y., and his army encamped for the night near Daniel Van Rensselaer's mills. A scouting party of thirty Tories and fifty Indians were sent in advance, however, to take possession of Van Schaick's mills at St. Croix. Isaac Bull, the miller at Van Rensselaer's mills, was commanded to grind wheat all night for Baum's army. In Old Cambridge, Robert Lake with a team and herd of cattle was captured by Baum, while James Rogers, from the junction of the Batten Kill, and Col. John Williams's family from White Creek made their escape ahead of his army. Rogers arrived at Sodom hamlet, near Stark's encampment, with his ox-team, the rainy night before the Battle of Bennington, and Mrs. Williams journeyed on to Williamstown, where she sold Dr. William Porter her husband's case of amputating instruments.

Baum's scouting party arrived at Van Schaick's mills and forced the enemies' guard to abandon the place. At eight o'clock the following morning, August 14th, Baum's main army arrived and found several Falls Quequick skirmishers, headed by Joel Abbott and his father, in the act of



Major-General John Stark, the Hero of Bennington, August 16, 1777. General Stark died in 1822 at the age of 94 years.

(A copy of the Original Painting by Tenney, owned by the City of Manchester, New Hampshire.)

breaking down the St. Croix Bridge over Little White Creek. In a letter addressed to General Burgoyne, Colonel Baum



Van Schaick's Mill at St. Croix near the junction of the Little White with the Walloomsac River, Hoosac, New York. The Battle of Bennington began and ended about the St. Croix Bridge, although the British and Tory Redoubts occupied summits near the Vermont State Line. Colonels Baum and Van Pfister both expired and were buried on the bank of the Walloomsac in Shaftsbury, Vermont.

states that he was delayed at St. Croix over an hour. He says:

SANCROICK, 14 Aug., 1777, 9 o'clock.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived here at eight in the morning. Having had intelligence of a party of the enemy being in possession of a mill which they abandoned, but in their usual way fired from the bushes, and took their road to Bennington, a savage was slightly wounded; they broke down the bridge, which retarded our march above an hour.

They left in the mill 1000 bushels of wheat 20 bbls. of salt

and about 78 bbls. of very fine flour, and £1000 worth of pearl of potash. I have ordered 30 provincials and an officer to guard the provisions, and the pass of the bridge.

By five prisoners taken they agree that 1500 to 1800 men are in Bennington, but are supposed to leave it on our approach.

I will proceed as far to-day as to fall on the enemy to-morrow early, and make such disposition as I think necessary from the intelligence I receive.

The people are flocking in hourly, but want to be armed. The savages cannot be controlled—they ruin and take everything they please.

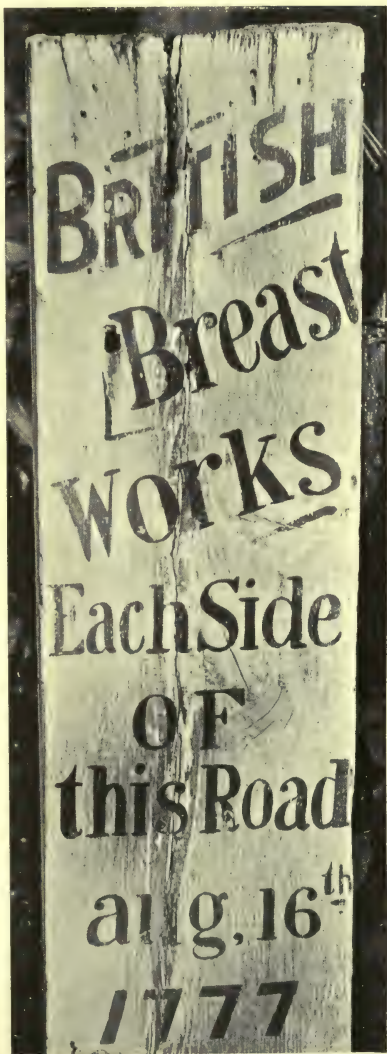
I am your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

F. BAUM.

Beg your Excellency to pardon the hurry of this letter. It is wrote on the head of a barrel.

To General BURGoyNE.

Colonel Gregg's sharpshooters killed several of



Slab marking site of the British Breast-Works on each side of the Old Cambridge Road, near western portal of Mellen's Bridge now known as Barnet Bridge over the Walloomsac, Hoosac, New York.

Baum's Indians and retreated about two miles in an orderly, confident manner until they arrived at William Mellen's log-house. Here Baum's army beheld General Stark's main army, drawn up in line of battle. The ground did not appear to be adapted for an attack and Baum posted his troops for the night. Stark marched his army two miles east and encamped for the night on the North Farm in Bennington. The meadow is marked now by a granite monument. Stark called a council of war, after which it was decided to attack the British the following day, Friday, August 15th. Upon the morrow, however, rain fell in torrents and Stark sent forth skirmishing parties with the object only to molest the enemy.

According to Glick, a German officer, "Baum bivouacked at the farm of Walmscott (William Mellen or Müllen) by the Walloonschoik" (Walloon's Creek), known to-day as Walloomsac River, now the site of Elmer Gooding's brick mansion. He sent a message to General Burgoyne for reinforcements and continued to build redoubts.

Baum's Height, known to-day as Jewett's Cobble, north of Baum's encampment, was chosen for his main redoubts. The summit rises over four hundred feet above the bed of the Walloomsac and is now marked by a flagstaff. Here Baum posted Riedesel's Dragoons and a brigade of Canadian Rangers. Ten rods north of Mellen's Bridge over the Walloomsac, he stationed another party of Riedesel's Dragoons with one cannon; and on the brow of the steep embankment above the river, overlooking Battlefield Park of to-day, he posted fifty Chasseurs. On both sides of the Old Cambridge Road, east of Mellen's Bridge, behind light earthworks, were stationed Canadian Rangers and German Grenadiers.

The Tory redoubt stood on Van Pfister's Hill, seventy rods south of Mellen's Bridge, directly south of Baum's redoubts

on Baum's Height. According to Esquire Nathaniel Wallace of Pownal, the Tory earthworks consisted of entrenchments with forest staddles set closely together at their base, slightly diverging at their top for the discharge of arms. A platform of logs and earth was built high enough within to enable the gunners to bring their faces up to the apertures of the stockade to take aim, after which each man stepped down and reloaded his rifle. Col. Francis J. Van Pfister of White House Manor of Nepimore, in Hoosac, commanded Peter's regiment of Loyalists at the Tory works. Here assembled many neighboring Tories from Lanesboro and Hancock, Massachusetts. Capt. Samuel Anderson led a Pownal company of Tories, while Colonel Van Pfister rallied a large volunteer company in Dutch Hoosac.

Stark's army was eighteen hundred strong, including three New Hampshire regiments under command of Colonels Hobart, Stickney, and Nichols; Col. William Williams's Wilmington company; Col. Samuel Herrick's regiment of Vermont Rangers, composed of Capt. Samuel Robinson's East Bennington company,¹ Capt. Elijah Dewey's West Bennington company,² with an enrolment of one hundred and fifty men, besides a portion of Col. Nathaniel Brush's regiment of Vermont Volunteers, and Colonel Simonds's Berkshire Regiment, and volunteer companies with an enrolment of over five hundred men.

The "Fighting Parson," Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, arrived at Stark's North Farm encampment about two o'clock on the morning of August 16th. He greeted the General by saying: "We, the people of Berkshire, have frequently been called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again." General Stark

¹ See Note 20 at end of volume.

² See Note 21 at end of volume.

replied: "If the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come out again." The patriotic parson with his dishevelled hair was later considered the most picturesque figure in either the American or British encampments.

The Bennington Council of Safety sat in constant session, and early Saturday morning, Sergt. Josiah Dunning of Captain Noble's Pownal company, guarding the Provincial storehouse at Bennington Centre, was despatched down the Walloomsac to locate Colonel Breyman's reinforcements. Saturday, August 16, 1777, dawned very warm, although Glick, the German officer, recorded that:

The storm of the preceding day having expended itself, not a cloud was left to darken the heavens, while the very leaves hung motionless, and the long grass waved not, under the influence of perfect calm. Every object around appeared, too, to peculiar advantage; for the fields looked green and refreshed, the river was swollen and tumultuous, and the branches of the forest trees were all loaded with dewdrops, which glistened in the sun's early rays like so many diamonds. Nor would it be possible to imagine any scene more rife with peaceful and even pastoral beauty.

General Stark's plan of surrounding Baum's and Van Pfister's redoubts began long before sunrise, although little firing took place until three o'clock in the afternoon. The British, however, kept up a constant bombardment, wasting much ammunition. Warner and Herrick were familiar with every hill and ravine of the Walloomsac, and the English historian, Gordon, considered that their "superior military skill" was of great service to General Stark.

The General, after his several regiments were in readiness to march to their assigned positions on the field, mounted



The Bennington Battle-field of the Walloomsac Valley, N. Y.

The objective point toward which General Burgoyne ordered Colonel Baum to march on August 14, 1777, was the Store-House of the American Continental Army, located at the head of the Parade at Bennington Centre, Vermont.

a rail-fence near his encampment and saluted his "little army" saying: "There are the Redcoats and they are ours, or this night Molly Stark sleeps a widow!"

Colonel Nichols of Bennington with three hundred New Hampshire troops marched northeast, through Shaftsbury, Vt., taking a wide circuit from Stark's Camp, and came in on the rear left of Baum's redoubt; Colonel Herrick of Bennington and his three hundred Vermont Rangers marched northwest, through Hoosac and White Creek, N. Y., taking a wide circuit, and came in on Baum's rear right.

General Stark and Colonel Warner with one hundred sharpshooters at two-thirty o'clock charged Baum's front on Baum's Height until Herrick's and Nichols's regiments arrived in position. Thomas Mellen recorded that General Stark came galloping forward with shoulders bent, and cried out to his men, "Those rascals know that I am an officer; don't you see they honor me with a big gun as a salute!" However, Stark's men continued to march round and round the base of Baum's Height to "amuse the Germans," until three o'clock.

Herrick's and Nichols's salute opened battle about Baum's and Van Pfister's redoubts simultaneously.

Silas Walbridge, a member of Capt. John Warner's company, posted on front of Herrick's rangers, said that just before arriving at Baum's redoubt, a party of Indians came in sight. Fearing that they were surrounded, they retreated single file between Herrick's and Nichols's regiments, which caused a delay in attacking Baum's earthworks until after the savages sought the shelter of the woods amid wild war-whoops and jingling of cow-bells.

The details of the two hours' fight of the Patriots about Baum's and Van Pfister's redoubts are sadly wanting in our local history. The German officer, Glick, recorded that: "While the British outworks were swept away with ease,

it was not so with Baum's main entrenchment, where his faithful veterans were stationed. They were slow to believe that they could be vanquished."

Colonel Baum was momentarily looking for the arrival of Breyman's reinforcements, when the solitary tumbril, containing all the spare ammunition of the British, exploded with great violence. General Stark and his veterans, though arrested by the sudden concussion, rushed fearlessly forward, sprang over the parapet, and dashed within Baum's earthworks. Rifle, bayonet, and butt of gun were in full play and a few moments' action finished the work. Glick cut his way through the Americans' columns and made his escape to tell the tale. The Hessian hirelings surpassed in valor the Canadians and Loyalists, who like the Indians retreated to the woods.

Whatever the New Englanders lacked in military training, arms, and uniforms, they made up in daring self-command. Clad as they were, in linen tow trousers and shirt-sleeves, without cumbersome head-gear and knapsacks, they won an advantage on the steep and slippery embankment of the Walloomsac over the German Grenadiers in their full uniform and caps.

Colonel Van Pfister's Tory redoubt on Van Pfister's Hill was surrounded by Colonels Hobart's, Stickney's, and Simonds's New Hampshire and Berkshire Boys, who with "Fighting Parson" Thomas Allen, routed the Tories from their earthworks. The latter ran for their lives toward Baum's redoubt, only to meet his Hessians rushing down Baum's Height to the Walloomsac. The first man reported to leap over the Tory redoubt was Capt. Ebenezer Webster of Salisbury, N. H., father of the famous statesman, Daniel Webster. Jacob Onderkirk, a neighbor of Col. Francis J. Van Pfister, of White House near the site of Le Grand Tibbits's Lodge, west of White House Bridge in Hoosac, is reported

to have fired the fatal ball which mortally wounded the Tory colonel. The wounded Colonel Van Pfister was finally captured by Jonathan Armstrong of Dorset, Vt.

Linus Parker of Lenox, Mass., reported that the fleeing Loyalists, while climbing the steep embankment of the Walloomsac, were followed by a volley of sharpshooters' bullets. Many of the wounded and dying rolled down the slope and into the swollen and tumultuous river. Herrick's Vermont Rangers fought with desperation about Baum's redoubt, approaching within eight paces of the loaded cannon in order to take surer aim at the gunners. Lieut. Joseph Rudd of Captain Dewey's West Bennington company, in a letter dated August 26, 1777,¹ said: "We marched right against Baum's breastworks with small arms, where the enemy fired their field pieces every half minute." They drove the Hessians from their earthworks.

Baum's cannons were hauled to the rear of Stark's army by James Rogers's yoke of oxen. Nearly all of Baum's Hessians were slain or taken prisoners. Baum himself did not surrender until fatally wounded. He was captured by Lieut. Thomas Jewett of Capt. Dewey's West Bennington company. Both Baum's and Van Pfister's wounds were examined on the field by Dr. Oliver Partridge of Stockbridge, Mass., and pronounced fatal.

The dying commanders were borne on the backs of their captors to the Duer House, a quarter of a mile east of the State Line, in the town of Shaftsbury. The famous house stood until 1865 over the site of the well, still in use, on the north side of the road, opposite Stark's paper mill, in the hamlet of Sodom. Lieut. Thomas Jewett secured Baum's sword and Jonathan Armstrong obtained Van Pfister's set of draughting instruments, a map of the route from St. Johns, Canada, to Albany, together with his commission of lieutenant.

¹ See Note 22 at end of volume.

enant-colonel, dated September 18, 1760, signed by General Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

The roar of musketry and cannon during the first hour of the raging battle was heard twenty miles south of Bennington Centre, in Williamstown; and the battle smoke was visible thirty miles westward on Bemis Heights, in Old Saratoga, N. Y.

Breyman's army received marching orders to reinforce Baum from Sir Francis Clarke at eight o'clock, Thursday evening, August 14th, and left the Batten Kill Camp an hour later. His guide lost the road and on the rainy night of the 15th, Breyman halted his troops for the night seven miles below Old Cambridge Village. A message from Baum at early dawn on August 16th urged him forward with all speed. He arrived at St. Croix Bridge, two miles below Baum's Height, about half-past four o'clock, during the last struggle of Baum and his veteran Hessians. Here he was met by an advance guard of sixty Grenadiers and Chasseurs, and twenty riflemen under the Tory, Col. Philip Skene from Whitehall Manor.

Colonel Breyman's army, however, was delayed half an hour at St. Croix by a body of American skirmishers, including William Gilmore, Thomas Mellen, and Jesse Field, who were in the act of tearing down the trestles of the bridge over Little White Creek with axes. This delay gave Warner's reinforcements of one hundred and fifty Continentals from Manchester opportunity to arrive on the field in time to repulse Breyman's troopers and win the closing victory of August 16, 1777—a day ever famous in the annals of American history.

Breyman first announced his advance to Stark's scattered troops by a volley of grape-shot from his two large cannon. The "Fighting Parson" Allen said that the exhausted General Stark became confused when he beheld Breyman's large

army; and William Carpenter, a soldier of the Swansea company of the New Hampshire Regiment, according to his son, Judge Carpenter of Akron, Ohio, reported that Stark ordered his men to retreat. At that critical moment Col. Seth Warner and Maj. Isaac Stratton, the latter a member of Capt. Samuel Clark's South Williamstown company, rode up, and Thomas Mellen reported that the "Major on his black horse shouted, 'Fight on Boys, reinforcements close by'!"

In about five minutes after the arrival of Major Stratton, Capt. Jacob Safford with one hundred and thirty of Colonel Warner's Continentals arrived and fired upon Breyman's right and left flanks. Stark's scattered men now took courage and fought desperately. Thomas Mellen's gun barrel became so hot that he could not handle it. He seized a dead Hessian's musket and continued to send the bullets flying to their deadly mark. Beholding the Tory Colonel Skene on his gray steed, waving his sword to Breyman's gunners, he sent a ball which felled his horse beneath him. Skene rose and cut the traces of one of the artillery horses, mounted, and rode off.

The Council of Safety at Bennington Centre about six o'clock despatched a circular message to Williamstown, stating that "Stark is now in an action which has been for some time very severe. . . . The enemy were driven; but being reinforced, made a second stand and still continue the conflict. But we have taken their cannon, and prisoners, said to number four or five hundred, are now arriving."

The second battle between Breyman and Stark continued for two hours, until after sunset. Stark stated that only darkness prevented the Patriots from capturing the whole body of Germans. Their cannon were both taken and turned upon the fleeing enemy. Colonel Breyman, unlike Colonel Baum, made his escape, although several of his

officers surrendered on the hill southwest of William Chase's homestead, near St. Croix Mill, in the hamlet of North Hoo-sac. Among Baum's and Breyman's officers made prisoners were one major, seven captains, fourteen lieutenants, four ensigns, two coronets, one judge-advocate, one Hessian chaplain, one surgeon and a German baron, an aide-de-camp of Colonel Baum, besides the Tory Colonel Van Pfister.

The historian Bancroft, who had access to German reports, is authority for the statement that Baum's army contained more than four hundred Brunswickers, Hanan gunners with two cannon, a select corps of British marksmen, a party of French Canadians, a more numerous party of Provincial Loyalists, and a horde of about one hundred and fifty Indians. General Stark also considered Colonel Breyman's reinforcements a large army. According to historians Thatcher and Butler, it contained one thousand German regulars.

After Baum's defeat, Aaron Hubbell and Josiah Dunning reported that they left the battle-field as guard, placed over six hundred prisoners. The Hessians and Tories were bound two by two with bed-cords and were marched to the First Church at Bennington Centre. As they passed "Cata-mount Tavern," landlord Stephen Fay stepped out and greeted the prisoners with a gracious bow, informing them that their dinner, which Colonel Baum had ordered by messenger for them the day before, was ready.

The wounded on the American side consisted of about forty-five men, who were borne to their homes on feather beds, and the famous surgeon, Dr. William Porter of Williamstown, Mass., attended them the following morning. Twenty-four hours after Colonels Baum and Van Pfister were wounded, they expired at the Duer House. Capt. Samuel Robinson, left in charge of the dying officers, later related that "a more intelligent and brave officer he had never seen, than the unfortunate Lieut.-Colonel Baum." The German

and the Tory commanders were buried side by side on the north bank of the Walloomsac, in Shaftsbury, Vt., beneath an elm tree in Charles B. Allen's meadow, a few rods west of the Stark paper-mill. Their graves have never been located nor marked.

After the victory of Bennington, the Council of Safety sent a hogshead of rum to Stark's weary troopers encamped on the gruesome Walloomsac battle-field. Many drank more than they needed and overcome with heat, slept in a near-by corn-field, where each soldier shared a corn-hill for a pillow. General Stark himself was ill two or three days after the battle.

The heroic Hessians slain during Baum's battle were buried on William Mellen's farm, and during 1838 many of their mouldering bones were unearthed in a potato field near the present Barnet house.

After Breyman's battle, the dead scattered between Mellen's Bridge and St. Croix, were gathered and buried in two great hollows east of the brick schoolhouse at Sickles's Mills, now Walloomsac hamlet. The Hessian prisoners who died from their wounds were buried later in the centre of the Old First Church burial-field at Bennington Centre. Their graves are now marked by a monument.

The American trophies of war consisted of seven hundred stand of arms, four brass cannon, brass barrelled drums, several Hessian swords, about seven hundred prisoners. The number of the enemy's wounded is unknown. Two hundred and seven of the enemy were slain on the field. Burgoyne's *Orderly Book* recorded Baum's and Breyman's loss, including killed, wounded, and prisoners, twelve hundred and twenty men. Lieut. Joseph Rudd¹ of Bennington, in a letter dated August 26th, after the battles, states that, "one thousand of the enemy were slain and captured."

General Washington considered the Victory of Benning-

¹ See Note 22, at end of volume.

ton "a great stroke." General Lincoln declared it to be "the capital blow of the Revolution," and historian Bancroft records it as "one of the most brilliant and eventful strokes of the Revolutionary War." The Rev. Wheeler Case, a contemporary poet, has expressed it thus:

At Bennington, Stark gave the wound
Which, like a gangrene, spread around.

The Indians now ceased their scalping forays and two hundred and fifty savages joined the American army at Old Saratoga against the British.

The Tory prisoners were guarded in Capt. Elijah Dewey's barn until September 4, 1777, and later removed to the log schoolhouse and Old First Church. During January, 1778, Capt. Samuel Robinson detached a party of prisoners under guard to tread down the drifted roads over the Green Mountains to Col. William Williams's home in Wilmington, Vt. Others were banished from the Green Mountains, under penalty of death should they return; and a few were sent to Simsbury Mines, the Revolutionary Newgate¹ prison, located in the abandoned copper mines of East Granby, Conn., where they died.

The two, small, three-pounder cannon, taken from Baum's redoubt on Baum's Height, are now in the State House at Montpelier, Vt. General Stark presented Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont one Hessian gun and bayonet, one broadsword, one brass-barrelled drum, and one Grenadier's cap. The trophies presented to Massachusetts were suspended in the Senate Chamber at Boston, opposite the Speaker's chair. The copy of the letter of thanks from the President of the Committee of Safety to General Stark, dated after the surrender of the British at Old Saratoga, is of local interest to Hoosactonians:

¹ *Lippincott's Magazine*, March, 1881.

The Hoosac Valley

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1777.

SIR:

The General Assembly of this State take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your acceptable present, the token of victory gained at the memorable battle of Bennington.* The events of that day strongly marked the bravery of the men, who, unskilled in war, forced from their entrenchments a chosen number of veteran troops of boasted Britons, as well as the address and valor of the general who directed their movements, and led them on to conquest. This signal exploit opened the way to a rapid succession of advantages, most important to America.

These trophies shall be safely deposited in the Archives of the State, and there remind posterity of the irresistible power of the God of armies in the honors due to the memory of the brave.

Still attended with like successes, may you long enjoy the reward of your grateful country.

JEREMIAH POWELL,

President of the Council.

To Brigadier-General JOHN STARK.

The centennial celebration of Stark's Victory of Bennington on August 16, 1877 was attended by thousands of descendants of the Revolutionary heroes, on the Old Military Parade grounds, southeast of Bennington Centre. Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, and Mrs. Hayes were present, and the poet, Wallace Bruce of New England, read a poem descriptive of "Fighting Parson" Allen and the Berkshire Boys:

The Catamount Tavern is lonely to-night;

The Boys of Vermont and New Hampshire are here,
Drawn up in line in the gloaming light

To greet Parson Allen with shout and with cheer.

* The Americans' victory was reported by contemporaries as the "Battle of Bennington," although won on banks of Walloomsac in Hoosac and White Creek, N. Y. Both Baum and Van Pfister died and were buried in Shaftsbury, Vermont.



Bennington Battle Monument marking site of the Americans' Continental storehouse of State Arms and Provision at the head of the Parade, Bennington Centre, Vermont, August 16, 1777. It is the highest Battle Monument in the world and towers over 302 feet in height on the summit of Bennington Hill, overlooking the entire Hoosac and Walloomsac Valleys. The corner-stone was laid at the Centennial, August 16, 1877, and the monument dedicated August 16, 1891, a century after Vermont's admittance to the Union.

*It needs no monumental pile
To tell each storied name,*

*The fair Green Hills rise proudly up
To consecrate their fame.*

REV. E. H. CHAPIN, *Bennington Battle, 1837.*

"To-morrow," said Stark, "there 'll be fighting to do,
If you think you can wait till the morning's light,
And, Parson, I 'll conquer the British with you,
Or my Molly will be a widow to-night!"



Camp-Kettle of General Burgoyne captured after the Surrender of the British at Old Saratoga, October 17, 1777. The historic Kettle now hangs in the Hall of Entrance to Bennington Battle Monument.

One of the significant mottoes observed on the banners floating above the streets of historic Bennington declared that: "Molly Stark did not sleep a widow, August 16, 1777."

The Bennington Battle Monument, towering over 302 feet on the site of the Provincial storehouse, is acknowledged to be the highest battle monument in the world. It was dedicated, August 16, 1891, by a salute from Baum's cannon, captured August 16, 1777. General Burgoyne's camp-kettle, recovered after the surrender of the British at Old Saratoga, is now suspended in the main hall of the entrance to the Bennington Monument. Here, too, should hang the portrait of General Stark, the "Hero of Bennington." He

was born in Nutfield, now Londonderry, N. H., in 1728, and made his residence later in Manchester, N. H. He was the hero of two wars and the survivor of a third. At his death in 1822 he was ninety-four years old, and the last but one of the American generals of the Revolution. His monument to-day commands a prospect several miles up and down the Merrimac Valley, near his native town.

General Stark's Victory of Bennington proved to be the opening skirmish which led to the surrender of Burgoyne at Old Saratoga, two months later, on October 17, 1777.

True to its trust, Walloomsac long
The record bright shall bear;
Who came up at the battle sound,
And fought for freedom there.¹

¹ Rev. E. H. Chapin, *Bennington Battle*, 1837.

CHAPTER XVIII

SURRENDER OF THE BRITISH AT OLD SARATOGA OCTOBER 17, 1777

*From Saratoga's hills we date the birth,—
Our Nation's birth among the powers of earth.*

*There to our flag bowed England's battle torn;
Where now we stand th' United States was born.*

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, *The Surrender.*

Old Saratoga—American and British Encampments—Battles of September 19th and October 7th—Burgoyne's Surrender—Evacuation of British—Centennial—Battle Monument, 1877.

THE campaign ground of Old Saratoga, six miles in width on both banks of the Hudson between the Mohawk, Hoosac, Fish Creek, and Batten Kill, has witnessed many conflicts. It is principally interesting to the historian by having been the scene of the most decisive victory won by the Americans during the Revolution.

Gen. Winfield Scott in 1857 visited the site of General Schuyler's American fortifications, built by the Polish engineer, Thaddeus Kosciusko, on Haver Island, below Cohoes Falls, and on Bemis Heights in Stillwater. He considered that those redoubts occupied the most formidable position on the banks of the upper Hudson for the defence of Albany. The Hudson Pass east of Bemis Heights, Burgoyne acknowledged later, he dared not attempt to force. The slopes were crowned with batteries extending to the river's edge, and the constant fire of those guns prevented

the British from marching down the narrow Hudson Pass to Albany.

The Old Saratoga intervalle, located on both banks of the Hudson, between the junction of the Hoosac and Batten Kill, during Burgoyne's invasion consisted of a dense marsh-land clothed with pine, oak, and mixed wood. Scarcely a dwelling was to be found to a square mile between Fort Half-Moon and Fort Saratoga. The hamlet of Schuyler's Mills lay in the southwest angle of Fish Creek and Hudson River. It contained the Provincial storehouse, Gen. Philip Schuyler's mansion, mills, barns, and slaves' cottages. Dominie Drummond's Dutch Church was located at the junction of the road to Victory Village; and the dwellings of Abram Marshall, Thomas Jordan, and John McCarty stood in the neighborhood. North of Fish Creek, lay the ruins of Fort Hardy, known as "Montessor's Folly," begun by Col. James Montessor in 1757, and Peter Lansing's dwelling, built in 1773, known to-day as the Marshall House. On the east bank of the Hudson, below the junction of the Batten Kill, stood the farmhouses of Thomas Rogers and Garret De Ridder.

At Coveville, two miles south of Schuyler's Mills, Jacobus Swart built the Dovegat house about 1765 and was followed by Col. Cornelius Van Vechten and his three sons. General Burgoyne in 1777 made his headquarters at Dovegat House—the haunt of the wild pigeons. The name has its origin in the Dutch *duivenkot* (dove-cote), according to Arnold J. F. Van Laer, the Albany Archivist. A mile below Dovegat stood the Sword House, and still farther south resided Ezekiel Ensign, John Taylor, David Shepherd, the Vernon and Van Denburgh families, and Fothem Bemis, at the base of Bemis Heights. The slopes west of John Taylor's house and Bemis's Tavern were settled by Isaac Freeman, Fones Wilbur, John Neilson, Asa Chatfield, Simeon Barbour,

George Coulter, Ephraim Woodworth, and the McBrides.

At Stillwater, three miles south of Bemis Heights, resided several Dutch and English families, including Dirck Swart and the Quakers, Gabriel and Isaac Leggett. Among other Old Saratoga patriots may be mentioned Capt. Hezekiah Dunham, Conrad Kremer, James Brisbin, John Walker, John Woeman, William Green, Thomas Smith, John Strover George Davis, Sherman Patterson, Daniel Guile, the Webster, Cross, and Denny families.

General Schuyler on July 31, 1777, ordered General St. Clair and General Arnold to march their regiments to Schuyler's Mills. The Provincial stores were moved to Albany, while General Schuyler and his officers explored the Heights of Saratoga on horseback, hoping to locate a formidable position to repulse the British. He was unsuccessful and on August 3d ordered his troops to Stillwater. General Schuyler made his headquarters in the Dirck Swart House, and on Wednesday, August 13th, while his men were building redoubts, news of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer's Victory of Oriskany on August 6th over Col. Barry St. Leger's Britishers reached Schuyler's Stillwater camp.

A council of war was called at the Swart House about the same time that General Stark and his officers were holding a similar council at the Catamount Tavern at Bennington Centre to repulse Col. Frederick Baum's Hessians on August 16, 1777. Notwithstanding the fact that General Schuyler expected Burgoyne to break up his Batten Kill encampment, he sent General Arnold with a detachment up the Mohawk to defend Fort Schuyler against St. Leger's troops. St. Leger, however, informed Burgoyne that the Mohawk Valley forts required a train of artillery of which he was not master. General Washington's main army at that time was watching the movements of the British under Generals Howe and Clinton, located in the Delaware Basin and in

New York Bay. He was unable to send reinforcements to General Schuyler to hold back Burgoyne's ten thousand troops from Canada.

After General Arnold's regiment marched up the Mohawk, General Schuyler broke up his Stillwater encampment, August 15th, and encamped at the "Sprouts of the Mohawk," near Waterford. The same day the Berkshire and Bennington volunteers rallied at General Stark's Walloomsac encampment in Bennington, where they were destined to win the Victory of Bennington, the following day. General Schuyler made his headquarters at Van Schaick's Mansion on Van Schaick's Island. His engineer, Kosciusko, built earthworks on the crescent points of Haver Island, south of the Fourth Sprout of the Mohawk, which are reached to-day by the bridge at the foot of Second Street, south of the Union Toll Bridge in Waterford.

General Schuyler's movements led the New Englanders to brand him, however, as a coward and to suspect him as disloyal to the Americans' Cause. Later, Congress retired him, without the sanction of Gen. George Washington, and appointed Gen. Horatio Gates in his place. Yet Gen. Philip Schuyler's knowledge of Half-Moon and Saratoga manors, his superior generalship, patriotism, and generous purse proved his loyalty to and bravery in behalf of the Americans' cause. Next to Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, General Schuyler advanced a larger sum than any one else, amounting to £20,000, much of which was never returned to him by the United States.

General Gates arrived at Van Schaick's Mansion with his commission as Commander of the Northern Department of the American Army on August 19th, and General Schuyler retired. A council of war was called to which Gates did not invite Schuyler. Gouverneur Morris at the time said that: "The new Commander-in-Chief . . . may, if he please,

neglect to ask or disdain to receive advice; but those who know him well, I am sure, are convinced that he needs it."

After the simultaneous clipping of both Burgoyne's right and left wings at Oriskany on August 6th, and at Bennington ten days later, six thousand American troops were set at liberty and rallied at Schuyler's Hudson Valley encampments. Generals Lincoln and Stark marched their troops from Manchester and Bennington, Vt., to guard Loudon's ferry on the east bank of the Hudson. General Arnold's troops, after their return from Fort Schuyler, were posted at the Mohawk ford on the west bank of the Hudson. General Gates, however, attributed this grand rally of New England troops to his having been appointed, although most of the volunteers were on the march at the time General Schuyler retired.

Gates soon considered that his army was large enough to repulse Burgoyne's army, and presently marched up the Hudson.

The American army encamped at Stillwater, September 8th, and General Gates ordered his men to throw up entrenchments. Engineer Kosciusko considered Bemis Heights, three miles north of Stillwater Village, a more formidable position, and on September 13th, Gates moved his army to that place. He made his headquarters at Fotherm Bemis's Tavern and ordered a floating bridge built over the Hudson. Batteries were mounted from the river edge westward to the summit of Bemis Heights; and John Neilson's farmhouse was converted into Fort Neilson, where General Gates and his officers made their headquarters. Willard, the famous scout, posted himself with his field-glass on his own Mount Willard, six miles east of Fort Neilson, and signalled Burgoyne's movements to the Americans on Bemis Heights. Burgoyne, although unfamiliar with the swampy intervale of the Hudson, failed to send out scouts to locate Gates's

army, yet he could hear the bugle-call and drum-beat of the Americans each morning.

Burgoyne broke up his Batten Kill Camp and built a pontoon bridge of scows 425 feet in length, over the Hudson September 13th. After General Riedesel's right wing crossed over the bridge on the 15th, Burgoyne ordered the bridge broken up and marched his army south, two miles to Coveville. His headquarters were at Swart's Dovegat House and the next morning on horseback he explored the slopes about Wilbur Basin, hoping to locate the American Camp.

On September 17th, Burgoyne moved his army one mile south of Dovegat and encamped on the Sword farm. A party of his men and women, while digging potatoes in a field, were surprised by an ambuscade of Americans and twenty were captured with their baskets of potatoes. Colonel Colburn with a party of New Hampshire scouts early on September 19th climbed trees on the east bank of the Hudson, opposite the Sword cottage, and gained a view of the British encampment. They counted eight hundred tents and observed movements indicating Burgoyne's advance, after which the Americans made ready for battle.

About eleven o'clock Burgoyne's army began to advance in battle order of three columns against the central line of the Americans at Fort Neilson. General Arnold urged Gates to advance his army and meet the British in the Middle Ravine, north of Freeman's clearing. But Gates did not think well of this advice. However, at half-past twelve Gates sent General Morgan and his Virginian Sharpshooters, together with General Dearborn's New Hampshire troops, forth to meet Major Forbes's scouting brigade of Indians near Freeman's cottage. Half an hour later, Burgoyne's main army lined up on the north side of the clearing. Fraser's brigade marched up on the western flanks and Riedesel's

regiment was stationed on the eastern flanks along the Hudson River Road.

At four o'clock the battle raged furiously between Fraser and Arnold. Each was determined on victory or death. The two armies met at the point of the bayonet, only to break, retreat, and return again and again with renewed fury. As twilight deepened Riedesel's German Grenadiers and Breyman's Hessians rushed up the eastern slope of Bemis Heights, mounted Captain Pausch's battery, south of Freeman's cottage, and forced Arnold's and Morgan's sharpshooters to retreat. Darkness soon fell over the Saratoga Hills and Burgoyne ordered his men to cease firing. The Americans claimed the victory of the day, since they lost only 319 men, ten per cent. of their forces, while the British lost 600 men, twenty per cent. of their troops engaged.

It was Burgoyne's intention to open a second battle the next morning, but owing to a heavy fog hovering over the hills and ravines of Old Saratoga until late in the day, he gave the afternoon to his men to rest, and for the care of the wounded and burial of the dead. At that period packs of wolves roamed throughout the Taconac and Catskill Mountains, and their uncanny howlings about the mounds of the dead disturbed the wounded troopers' sleep in both the British and American camps.

It was fortunate for the cause of the Americans that fog lowered over the Hudson on the morning of September 20th, as Gates was short of lead. Burgoyne could have easily driven Gates's whole army ahead of him like unresisting sheep down the Hudson to the sea. Kingsley wrote later that "the Americans' victory in 1777 was due more to the 'strategy of Providence' than to superior generalship."

A message from General Clinton reached Burgoyne, September 21st. He reported that he had cleared the log boom and mammoth iron chain across the Hudson and had

entered Newburgh Bay, September 19th. Burgoyne believed, therefore, that Gates would withdraw a part of his troops to repulse Clinton's advance. He delayed his second battle and built the Great Redoubt southwest of Freeman's well on September 22d. He then awaited Clinton's reinforcements. This delay gave General Schuyler time to send out orders for the lead weights from all the Albany mansion windows. These were converted into bullets, which were shipped to Fort Neilson on Bemis Heights as soon as moulded.

Time passed, and on October 5th Burgoyne held a council of war and reported that there were on hand, only sixteen days' rations for his army. General Riedesel advised a retreat to Canada; General Philip remained neutral; General Fraser agreed with Burgoyne that retreat was impossible to a Briton.

The deep blue heavens arched serenely above the autumnal woodlands, brilliant in their gold and crimson robes, when on October 7th the British began active preparations to invite a second battle with the Americans. At ten o'clock Burgoyne, accompanied by Fraser, Riedesel, and Philip and their brigades and artillery began their advance. A scouting party of Indians and Canadians were followed by three columns, consisting of 1500 of England's skilled marksmen. When they arrived at a position overlooking the encampment of the Americans, several officers climbed to the roof of Asa Chatfield's log dwelling and with their field-glasses gained a full view of Gates's Camp.

The attack that the Americans planned against Burgoyne's army on October 7th, proved to be similar to the plan of attack of General Stark in surrounding Baum's troops on the Walloomsac battle-field. General Morgan and his Virginian sharpshooters were ordered to make a wide circuit to Burgoyne's rear right; General Poor and his New York and New Hampshire troops were directed to make a

circuit through the forests to Burgoyne's rear left; and Generals Dearborn and Learned with their brigades of riflemen were ordered to march against Burgoyne's centre column. Upon the arrival of each regiment at its appointed post, at a prearranged signal from Morgan's sharpshooters, a simultaneous volley of bullets broke upon the British rear, right, and left flanks. The centre troops charged Burgoyne's front ranks and broke through his column. This resulted in a hand to hand struggle, which consumed half of the first hour of fighting.

The deadly aim of Morgan's sharpshooters caused the Earl of Balcarres's regiment on Burgoyne's western flank to retreat. Major Williams was captured and the Americans seized his 12-pounder gun. Major Ackland was seriously wounded in both legs, and the fact that he was incapacitated precipitated a panic among his Grenadiers. At that moment Colonel Cilly leaped upon the British cannon and fired it against the fleeing Britons and Germans. General Morgan soon observed General Fraser advancing, and like a tornado he forced the western ridge with his Virginians and displaced Fraser's brigade of marksmen.

Meanwhile Gates had humbled Arnold by relieving him of his command. Arnold begged permission to serve as a volunteer soldier but was refused. At last he dared Gates to follow him as he dashed out of Fort Neilson. He leaped upon his bay charger, put the spurs to his steed, and was soon among the American patriots.

Once upon the field of action, Arnold forgot that he was no longer a commanding general as did the soldiers. At that moment Fraser's brigade rushed forward to relieve the Hessians, and Morgan rallied his sharpshooters forward to rescue Arnold's men. Fraser, mounted on his noble gray charger, was soon observed urging his men forward, when both Arnold and Morgan decided that he must fall. Morgan,

addressing the sharpshooter, Timothy Murphy, and pointing out General Fraser, said: "It is necessary for our cause that he should die. Take your station in that cluster of trees and do your duty."

General Fraser was mortally wounded and was borne from the field of action to the John Taylor House three miles east, near the bank of the Hudson, and General Burgoyne took command of his brigade. At that critical moment General Ten Broeck of Albany arrived upon the battle-field with three thousand fresh troops, including Col. Johannes Knickerbacker's 14th New York Regiment from Dutch Hoosac. They shouted exultantly at the Britons and Germans, who, struck with panic, fled to their redoubts.

General Arnold, beholding the enemy fleeing to their earthworks, galloped the whole length of the American line, and urged the Patriots forward to attack Burgoyne's troopers before they had time to gain vantage ground. In the attack Arnold's horse fell beneath him and he was wounded in his injured ankle. He was soon rescued by Major Armstrong, however, and removed to Fort Neilson to face General Gates's frowning visage. Colonel Specht of Balcarres's regiment endeavored to recover Colonel Breyman's lost position. He was headed as he believed by a Loyalist, but he and four officers and fifty men were made prisoners by the traitor. Owing to the approach of darkness fighting ceased. Had it not, General Burgoyne's whole army would have been chased from their earth burrows, and General Ten Broeck's Albany Regiment would have won a greater fame than that of merely shouting after the Americans' victory had already been won.

The loss of the Americans was one hundred and fifty, including killed and wounded. Arnold was the only wounded officer. The British lost seven hundred killed and wounded. Generals Fraser and Francis Clarke and Colonel

Breyman were mortally wounded; and Colonel Specht, Majors Williams and Ackland were captured. The latter was painfully wounded in both legs, while General Burgoyne, unlike General Gates, fought with his men through the hottest battles at the point of the bayonet but escaped without a scratch.

General Fraser died the following morning and his burial took place at sunset on the summit of the Great Redoubt. Burgoyne abandoned his four hundred wounded soldiers in their rude hospital to the mercy of the Americans at nine o'clock in the evening, and began his retreat, during a pouring rain, to Dovegat House. General Gates, during the early morning, posted General Fellows and thirteen hundred men on the Heights of Saratoga to guard against the retreat of the British to Lake George and Canada. The mad General Burgoyne proved to be too weak in character, according to the *Brunswick Journal* of England, "to resist his orgies" and make his escape northward. On October 9th, in spite of General Riedesel's advice, he halted at Schuyler's Mansion and celebrated his defeat with a feast over sparkling glasses, while his soldiers were forced to sleep under trees in the pouring rain, protected only by their oilcloth blankets. This resulted in the British army being entrapped on the Heights of Saratoga until Burgoyne was starved into surrender.

The Americans' plan of surrounding the British camp placed Morgan's Virginian sharpshooters, Learned's brigade, and the Pennsylvania troops west of the present site of the Battle Monument; the New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut regiments east of the Hudson; the New York, New Jersey, and other New England regiments south of Fish Creek. General Stark's New Hampshire, Berkshire, and Bennington veterans, during the evening of October 12th, encamped in the Fort Edward Pass on the west bank of the Hudson, north of the Heights of Saratoga, and closed

the trail during the critical hour Burgoyne had made his final plans to escape to Canada.

On October 13th, the Americans were thus enabled to make a circuit of the British encampment. Their batteries kept up a constant fire upon the quarters of Burgoyne's officers, and were hoarsely answered by the heavy British artillery during the siege. On the morning of October 13th Burgoyne held a council of war with his officers and deliberated upon capitulation. At that critical moment an American cannon ball rolled across the table at which Burgoyne sat, and this speedily brought him to a decision. A truce was sent to General Gates, requesting him to receive a field-officer on matters of high moment to both armies. Gates appointed ten o'clock on the following morning for the interview.

News of General Clinton's advance forty miles below Albany led Gates to sign Burgoyne's own terms of surrender before he was assured of Clinton's reinforcements. The articles of capitulation were signed by representatives of the British and American commanders at eight o'clock in the evening, October 15th, at a tent south of the site of the Old Horicon Mill at Schuylerville. On the morning of October 16th, Clinton's scout made his way through the American lines by way of the Tory outpost at Fort Schaghticoke, and delivered a dispatch at the British encampment. As a result, Burgoyne delayed signing the treaty until Gates's officers drew up the American troops in battle order early October 17th, and invited Burgoyne to sign it before sunrise or face them in battle. He then marched down the Indian trail, now Burgoyne Avenue in Schuylerville, and signed the *Articles of Convention*¹ beneath an elm tree. The famous Treaty Elm remained standing until about 1890, when it was burned down.

¹ Rev. J. H. Brandow, *Story of Old Saratoga*, pp. 152-155, 1900.

The British and German prisoners later stacked their arms in the field between the Treaty Elm and the Hudson River, in the presence of Colonel Wilkinson and Morgan Lewis. Many of the soldiers bade farewell to their muskets with tears; others threw them down with oaths; and the drummers stamped in their drum-heads.

The final scene of the formal surrender of General Burgoyne was observed by a small lad named John P. Becker, who subsequently described the historical event under the name of "Sexagenary." By a prearranged signal the British prisoners halted near Gates's tent; Burgoyne drew his sword and presented it to Gates in full view of both the American and British armies. The American soldiers were lined up on either side of the Hudson River Road, between which marched the conquered Britons and Germans.

General Gates received General Burgoyne's surrendered sword with due ceremony and soon returned it to him again. This act was followed by an American escort unfurling the flag¹ of the Stars and Stripes of the United States, to which bowed England's battle-torn flag. It was saluted by the drum corps playing the tune of *Yankee Doodle*. The lyrical poem, set to this tune, described the motley regiments of New Englanders, during the French and Indian War, known as the Macedonian Conquerors. It was composed by Dr. Shackburg, near Fort Crailo's well, in Greenbush, N. Y., during June, 1758, while General Abercrombie awaited the arrival of the bands of Yankee volunteers before marching against Montcalm's French and Indians on Lake Champlain.

The number of British and German soldiers surrendered by Burgoyne on October 17, 1777, amounted to 5791, includ-

¹ The design of the American Flag was adopted by the Continental Congress June 14, 1777. The wives of the American officers at Albany and Saratoga took their red, white, and blue linsey petticoats and hastily made the Flag of the United States unfurled at Old Saratoga on October 17, 1777.

ing four members of Parliament, besides 1856 prisoners and wounded. The burial mounds on Bemis Heights contained 1200 dead, and fifty Hessians and innumerable Canadians and Indian volunteers deserted Burgoyne's ranks even before his surrender.

The American army under Gates consisted of 9,093 Continentals and 16,000 volunteer yeomanry, making a total of over 25,000 men, besides camp-followers and civilians from all parts of the thirteen United States. The British and American armies combined thus consisted of over 35,000 men, posted between Fish Creek and the junction of the Hoosac and Mohawk with the Hudson.

The British prisoners destined for Boston, marched down to Wilbur Basin and encamped for the night. On the following morning the Germans were separated from the English. The latter desired to march up the Old Cambridge Road to Bennington Centre, and they crossed the Americans' floating bridge opposite Bemis Tavern. They were joined by the Hessian prisoners at Bennington, captured by General Stark on August 16th, and marched over the Pownal Centre Road to Williamstown, and joined Burgoyne's staff at Henderson's storehouse, which is still standing in Old Stockbridge, Mass.

Many of the homesick Germans died of heart failure. The survivors crossed the Van Denburg Ferry to the east bank of the Hudson and encamped at Fort Schaghticoke. On October 19th, they marched up the Tomhannac Road to Claverack, and turned eastward over the Old Military Road and joined the British and Burgoyne's staff at Henderson's storehouse, in Old Stockbridge, Mass. Many Hessians as well as Britons escaped from the home-ranks on their march through Hoosac Valley. Among them may be mentioned the Welshman, George Rex Davis of Dutch Hoosac, N. Y.; the Englishmen, Rich and Beverly; and the Hessians, John

Blake and Johann Hintersass, known later as John Henderson in Williamstown, Mass. The Beverly family resided in White Oaks and Henderson on Henderson Road over Oak Hill in Williamstown. The latter's son, George, died in 1860, leaving many descendants, even to-day bearing the distinct Hessian type.

Meanwhile, on October 18th, Burgoyne's staff first visited Albany. As the cavalcade reached Broadway, a witty son of Limerick, elbowing and shouting, came upon the scene:

Now, shure and ye 'll shtand back an' giv' Ginerall Bergine plenty av ilbow room right here in Albany! I say, ye darchy rebels, fall back an' giv' th' great Ginerall room to come along here in Albany! Och, fer hiven's sake, ye cowardly shpalpeens, do ye shtand aside to th' right and lift and make more ilbow room fer Ginerall Bergine or, by Saint Patrick, I 'll murther iv'ry mother's son av ye!!¹

The British officers were royally entertained at Gen. Philip Schuyler's Mansion. Philip J. the nine-year-old son of General Schuyler, mischievously opened the door of General Burgoyne's chamber on the morning of October 19th and burst out laughing upon beholding his guards slumbering upon mattresses placed on the floor. He closed the door significantly, exclaiming, "Now you are all *my* prisoners!" Thus was the British Commander captured twice. This little incident, recorded Marquis De Chastellux, served only to remind Burgoyne of his misfortunes, and although humorous to a degree, it greatly depressed him.

It was not known in 1777 why General Howe failed to make a juncture with General Burgoyne at Albany. Lord Edmund FitzMaurice recently unearthed Lord Shelburne's memorandum, proving that Lord George Germaine, during 1777, hastily called at the Colonial Secretary's Office on his

¹ Simm's *Frontiersmen of New York*, II, p. 132.

way to attend a fox hunt in Kent; he signed several orders but, upon glancing at Howe's Despatch, he refused to sign it on the ground that it was not "fair copied." The order thus got "pigeon-holed," Providentially for the American Cause; and Lord Germaine thought of it no more.

Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy said of the Victory of Old Saratoga: "Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition," on October 17, 1777.

The corner-stone of Saratoga Battle Monument was laid at the Centennial celebration on October 17, 1877.

Then let yon granite shaft of grace
Forever be a rallying place
For liberty and honor, till the day
The stone is dust, the river dried away.¹

¹C. H. Crandall.

CHAPTER XIX

ETHAN ALLEN AND THE ALLEN FAMILY

Of the Green Mountains one might probably say: they are more generally admired than visited. . . . Poets sing without seeing them. . . . That they stimulate the virtues of the patriot is one of those axioms which one meets over and over again in the pages of writers who have never felt their rugged breezes.—Paraphrase from DE MONTESQUIEU'S *Spirit of Laws*.

The Allen Family—Ethan Allen—Education, Religion, Marriage—Captivity in England—Oracles of Reason—Anecdotes—Ira Allen—Death of Seth Warner—Death of Ethan Allen—Death of Ira Allen—Heroic Monuments.

LOVE of liberty was Ethan Allen's¹ sincere passion as it was of his youngest brother, Ira Allen. The Allen family of New England descended from Matthew, Samuel, Thomas, and John Allen, sons of Samuel Allen, Esq., of Chelmsford, Essex County, who was a descendant of Sir Thomas Allen, Bart., of Thaxsted Grange, Braintree, England. They claimed kinship with the ancient crusader, Allain, commander of the rear guard under William the Conqueror, during the decisive Battle of Hastings, in 1066. The Allen crest represents a demi-lion *azure*, holding in his two paws the rudder of a vessel bearing the motto, *Fortiter gerit Crucem*.

"Fighting Parson" Thomas Allen, first minister of Pittsfield, Mass., descended from Matthew Allen; and Col. Ethan Allen descended from Samuel Allen, the grandson of the original Samuel Allen, who located at Old Deerfield, Mass. His son Joseph, born in 1708, moved to Old Litchfield, Conn., and it is recorded that Joseph and his widowed mother,

¹ See illustration, Chapter xv.

Mercy Allen, resided in Litchfield in 1728. On March 11, 1736, Joseph Allen, at the age of twenty-eight, married Mary Baker of Woodbury, Conn., sister of Elisha Baker, who settled near Baker Bridge in Williamstown, Mass., and



The Joseph Allen House, Old Litchfield Hill, Connecticut. The birthplace of Ethan Allen, the Hero of Ticonderoga, who was born in the room on the left side of the front door, January 10, 1737.

of Remember Baker, the father of Capt. Remember Baker, who located in the Walloomsac Valley in 1765.

At Joseph Allen's homestead in Litchfield, "Ethan Allen, Ye son of Joseph and Mary his wife, was born on January Ye 10th 1737." The house remains unchanged and is owned by the Aylward family. The "Daughters of the Revolution" have erected a tablet on the house, marking the birthplace of the "Hero of Ticonderoga." About 1740, Joseph Allen moved to Cornwall, Conn., where he died in 1755. He left six sons and two daughters, Ethan, Heman, Heber, Levi, Zimri, Ira, Lydia, and Lucy.

The educational opportunities of Ethan Allen consisted of three months' instruction under Parson Lee of Salisbury, Conn. In 1840 the venerable Jehial Johns of Huntington, Conn., at the age of eighty-five years, informed historian Zadoc Thompson of Vermont, that young Ethan Allen boarded at a Mrs. Wadham's about 1759 while preparing for college. At that time, he was greatly influenced by Dr. Thomas Young of the Oblong in Dutchess County, N. Y., who lectured against Jonathan Edward's *System of Divine Revelation*. Dr. Young was prosecuted, convicted, and punished for blasphemy. Between 1760 and 1766, both Dr. Young and Ethan Allen began a theological work entitled *The Oracle of Reason*, contending against the necessity of Divine Revelation. They agreed that whichever one of them outlived the other should publish the work.

On June 23, 1762, Ethan Allen, at the age of twenty-five years, married Mary Brownson, a granddaughter of Richard Brownson of Framingham, Conn. The ceremony was performed by Parson Daniel Brinsmade of the Judea Church of Woodbury, and Allen paid the usual fee of four shillings for the tying of the knot. The Brownson family never sanctioned their daughter's marriage with Ethan Allen, owing to his irreligious views. Four years after his marriage in 1766, he was called to Bennington to defend the Green Mountain settlers' rights in the Albany Court of Ejectment. He left his family with his sister, Lucy Bebee, at Sheffield, and before his capture by the British in the autumn of 1775, both he and Ira Allen built homes on the north bank of the Batten Kill in Sunderland, on the New Hampshire Grants.

During the perilous year of 1777, after her son Joseph's death, Molly Allen, together with her four daughters, Lorraine, Lucy, Mary Ann, and Parmelia, and accompanied by her brother, Lieut. Eli Brownson, located at Sunderland. Ethan Allen remained in an English prison two years and

eight months until exchanged for Lieut.-Col. John Campbell, May 6, 1778. Broken in health but not in spirit he arrived in New York City and later visited General Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge. In a letter addressed to the President of Congress, Washington said of Allen "that his fortitude and firmness seem to have placed him out of the reach of misfortune. There is an original something about him that commands admiration, and his long captivity and sufferings have only served to increase, if possible, his enthusiastic zeal."

Dr. Thomas Young died in Philadelphia during the autumn of 1777, and Ethan Allen visited Mrs. Young in Dutchess County, N. Y., on his way to Bennington, Vt., and procured the manuscript of their theological work. On May 31, 1778, as the long shadows of Mount Anthony fell aslant the Walloomsac, the "Hero of Ticonderoga" arrived at the "Catamount Tavern" on Bennington Hill. Col. Samuel Herrick's Continental Regiment fired three cannon at sunset to announce Allen's return to the Bennington and Berkshire Boys.

At sunrise on the following morning a large crowd assembled on the Parade, and Colonel Herrick fired off fourteen guns—thirteen for the original United States and the fourteenth for the State of Vermont. Dr. Lemuel Hopkins read a poem of welcome for the returned captive, Ethan Allen, and it was a day famous in Vermont's history.

See him on green hills north afar,
Glow like some self-enkindled star.

Behold him move, ye staunch divines,
His tall brow bristling through the pines,
Like some old sachem from his den
He treads once more the haunts of men.¹

¹ Dr. Smith, *Collection of American Poetry*, Litchfield, Ct., 1794.

Congress later conferred the rank and emolument of lieutenant-colonel upon Allen. He represented the town of Arlington for three years, and during July, 1782, he completed the revisions of Dr. Thomas Young's and his own manuscript on theology, entitled: *Reason, the Only Oracle of Man, or A Compendious System of Natural Religion*. It was published by Anthony Haswell and Nathaniel Russell, editor and printer of the *Vermont Gazette*, in the Haswell Building, located on the site of the present Battle Monument.

Most of the first edition remained in proof-sheets when the building burned. Editor Haswell regarded this as an interposition of Divine Providence to prevent the circulation of a book advocating irreligion. The book was known to the Green Mountain Boys as Ethan Allen's *Bible*, but the author referred to it as *The Oracle of Reason*. Both Dr. Young and Ethan Allen believed in Jehovah, the Supreme Creator and Governor of the Universe, and in the reward or punishment during the future state of immortal man. Allen sent a copy to the Hon. St. Johns of the Academy of Arts and Science in Paris, by whose sentence he expected to stand or fall. This work was followed in 1793 by Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* during the French Revolution, which did much to arouse the Hoosactonians against slavery.

Molly Allen, the wife of Ethan Allen, died during July, 1783, and according to the venerable Dr. Ebenezer Hitchcock, was buried in the Congregational churchyard of Arlington, three miles from their Sunderland home. A little later Lorraine, her eldest daughter, died and was buried in the Sunderland burial-field, south of the site of the Allen cottage on the bank of the Batten Kill. She inherited her father's skepticism and before her death asked him: "Whose faith shall I embrace, yours or that of my mother?"

“Not, not in mine,” with choking voice,
The skeptic made reply—
“But in thy mother’s holy faith,
My daughter, may’st thou die.”¹

Allen’s daughter, Lucy, married the Hon. S. Hitchcock; Parmelia married Eleazer W. Keyes, and Mary Ann married Mr. Forbes, all of Burlington, Vt.

Ethan Allen despised the liar, thief, and hypocrite. He was sued once upon a promissory note for £60 and he engaged a lawyer to procure a continuance. The attorney denied Allen’s signature as the quickest method of obtaining a continuance. Allen pushed his way through the crowd and confronted his councillor saying: “I did not hire you to come here to lie. That is my true note; I signed it; I ’ll swear to it; and I ’ll pay it. I want no shuffling, but wish time.” It was speedily granted him by the judge.

During 1778, Thomas Chittenden of Arlington was elected Governor of Vermont; Joseph Marsh, Lieutenant-Governor; Ira Allen, Treasurer and Surveyor-General, and Ethan Allen, Major-General of the State Militia. Ira Allen proved to be the greatest diplomatist of the Revolutionary period and the most successful business manager of the Allen brothers. He represented the Onion River Land Company, controlling the settlement of eleven townships between Ferrisburgh and the Canadian borders, covering 30,000 acres of Champlain Valley. Levi Allen was the Tory member of the Allen brothers, and he was lodged in New London jail and advertised as a dangerous Tory in the *Connecticut Courant* by his brother Ethan, he believed. He was set at liberty after six months and challenged Ethan Allen to fight a duel with pistols. Later he joined the British army in South Carolina until the close of hostilities in 1783. He resided in Canada

¹ Anon., “The Infidel and his Daughter,” 1783, reprinted in *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*.

and England for seven years after the Revolution and was greatly at odds with the world at large. He returned to Burlington, Vt., in 1790 and refused to pay taxes. He was lodged in jail and died in 1802. He was buried in the prison's potter-field.

Ethan Allen was unconventional to the extreme. On May 27, 1779, he appeared at the Westminster Court-House attired in military uniform. Noah Smith was closing an argument in which he cited Blackstone as authority. Colonel Allen, believing that Vermont's State attorney manifested too great leniency toward the prisoner, arose and addressed the jury, stating that in the observations that he was about to make he should not deal in quibbles. "I would have that young gentleman to know that from the eternal fitness of things I can upset his Blackstones, his whitestones, his gravestones, and his brimstones." Chief Justice Moses Robinson of Bennington arose at this juncture and informed Allen that it was not allowable for him to appear in court with his sword by his side. This interruption nettled Allen. He unslung his weapon and brought it down on the table with a force that made the house ring, and exclaimed:

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best.

Observing the judges whispering, he added: "I said that fools might contest for forms of government—not your Honors, not your Honors."

During 1780, a letter was handed mysteriously to Ethan Allen in Arlington, Vt., by the notorious Beverly Robinson, for treasonable purposes. At that time it was known to the British that Congress refused to recognize Vermont's Independence or admittance to the Federal Union. Beverly Robinson's letter, therefore, proposed negotiations with the

commander of the British army for the purchase of the "Green Mountain Republic." Ira Allen was sent to hold a conference with the Crown's officers, then encamped on lower Lake Champlain, and after seventeen days he won a verbal armistice. The British commander agreed upon the cessation of hostilities of his army of 10,000 troops within the borders of the Republic of Vermont.

Ira Allen's military strategy, founded as it was upon treasonable grounds, therefore crippled the British army in the North and led to General Washington's victory over Cornwallis at Yorktown, Va., in the South, October 19, 1781, and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Paris in September, 1783.

After the close of the Revolutionary War, Col. Seth Warner passed into a physical decline and returned to Irish Corners, now Riverside, in Bennington, and later removed to Woodbury, Conn., where he died on December 26, 1784. Warner's military skill ranks superior to that of Ethan Allen, although the latter, owing to that "original something," as Washington put it, won a more permanent place in the hearts of hero worshippers than any other Patriot during the Revolutionary period. The State of Connecticut erected near Col. Seth Warner's grave, an heroic monument twenty-one feet in height, with appropriate tablets, and Capt. John Chipman, the famous scout, wrote an account of his life.

Little is recorded of Col. Samuel Herrick, commander of the regiment of Vermont Rangers. After the Revolution he moved from Bennington to Springfield, New York.

Col. Ethan Allen's marriage to Mrs. Fanny Buchanan, a daughter of the noted Tory, Creon Brush of Westminster, took place on February 21, 1784. During the spring of 1787 he located on the Cornelius Van Ness farm in Burlington, Vt. They had two sons, Ethan A. and Hannibal Allen, and one

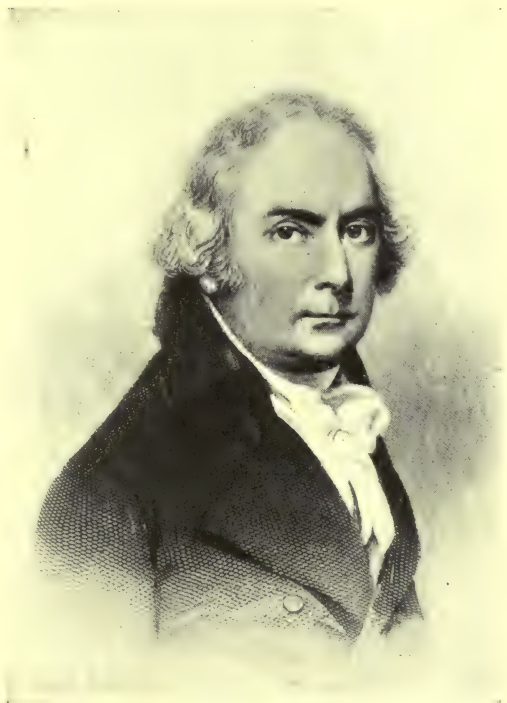
daughter, Frances Allen. Colonel Allen, however, after visiting his cousin, Col. Ebenezer Allen on South Hero Island, in Lake Champlain, February 12, 1789, was stricken with apoplexy and died. The Hero of Ticonderoga was buried, February 18th, with military honors, by his veteran Green Mountain Boys, in Green Mount Cemetery.

Ethan Allen's Burlington cottage is slightly altered to-day, and a boulder on his farm, near the spot where he died, bears a bronze tablet placed there by the Daughters of the Revolution. His sons, Ethan A. Allen and Hannibal Allen, subsequently became distinguished officers in the United States Army and resided in Norfolk County, Virginia until their death; and his daughter, Frances Allen, entered the Roman Catholic Convent, at Montreal, Canada. Her life and conversion are described by the Rev. M. Faillon in a book entitled, *Vie de Mille Mance*; also by A'Becet in the first volume of Appleton's *Catholic Encyclopedia*, issued in 1907. She was the first American woman to take the veil.

The late Ethan A. Allen, a great grandson of Col. Ethan Allen, was the author of *Drama of the Revolution* in blank verse. He died in 1909.

Ira Allen, the youngest brother of Ethan Allen, did more to advance the civil government and settlement of the Green Mountain Republic for the fifteen years previous to the State's admittance to the Federal Union in 1791, than did any other man of the Revolutionary period. President Washington and Congressman William Smith on August 30, 1790, visited Gov. Moses Robinson and Isaac Tichenor at Bennington Centre, in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the Union. At that time Washington was aware of the influence of Ethan and Ira Allen's diplomacy in bringing about the cessation of hostilities of the British on the Vermont-Canadian borders. On January 6, 1791,

following Washington's Bennington visit, the vote of Vermont's officers proved to be 105 yeas to 3 nays for a final application for the State's admittance to the Union. Four days later, the Assembly met at Bennington Centre, and on January 18th the Hon. Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris, Esq., were appointed commissioners to negotiate with Congress for the admission of the State to the Union. On February 18th, Congress passed an Act by which on March 4th, "the said State, by the name and style of the State of Vermont, shall be received into this Union as a new and entire member of the United States of America."



Ira Allen of Bennington and Burlington, Vermont, the famous Secretary of the Vermont Council of Safety during the Revolution before the Battle of Bennington. The leading Diplomatist of the Green Mountain Republic, Major-General of Vermont's Militia and Founder of the University of Vermont at Burlington. He died in Philadelphia, where he was buried in the Friends' Free Quaker Burial-ground, January 15, 1814. His grave is unknown and unmarked.

During 1791, after Col. Ethan Allen's death, Ira Allen was chosen Major-General of Vermont's militia. On Octo-

ber 19, 1793, he presented the land upon which the University of Vermont now stands, in Burlington, and endowed it with £4000. The building was occupied as a military station during the War of 1812. The corner-stone of the present building was laid by General La Fayette, in 1825.

Governor Chittenden sent Maj.-Gen. Ira Allen to England in December, 1793, to purchase State Arms. As Treasurer of Vermont, Ira Allen mortgaged 45,000 acres of his estate in Champlain Valley to Gen. William Hull of Watertown, Mass., in order to loan the State the sum to buy the necessary artillery. The French Revolution was raging at the time he arrived in London, and it proved to be an inopportune time for Vermont's officials to negotiate for artillery or for Ira Allen's proposed scheme of building the Champlain and St. Lawrence Canal. In May, 1796, he visited Paris and purchased \$120,000 worth of muskets, bayonets, and twenty-four cannon. This cargo was loaded on the ship, *Olive Branch*, from Ostend, bound for New York.

Off the coast of Ireland, however, the *Olive Branch* was seized by a British cruiser. The ship was considered the lawful prize of the captors by the Court of Admiralty, although the cargo was proved to be neutral arms bound for a neutral port. Ira Allen, through his attorney, Lord Erskine, laid the case before the King's Bench. Three years later he was compelled to visit Paris to procure evidence. Through conspiracy he was arrested for want of proper passport and lodged in a French prison for six months, where he became dangerously ill. He did not return to England until October, 1800. In 1804, eight years after the seizure of Vermont's military arms, Ira Allen won his case and recovered the then valueless cargo of the *Olive Branch*.

Meanwhile, during those eight years, Ira Allen's vast estate in Vermont had been plundered and sold for taxes, and his good name defamed by those whom he had served.

Upon his return he was ejected from his home by the land-pirates and he fled to Philadelphia, Pa., where he died in the almshouse, January 15, 1814, at the age of sixty-seven. Francis Olcott Allen discovered a certificate of the burial of Maj.-Gen. Ira Allen among the records of the Board of Health in Philadelphia a few years ago, proving that one of the greatest diplomatists of the Revolution was interred in the Free Quaker Burial-ground. His grave, however, is unknown and unmarked to-day by appropriate monument.

Ira Allen was the author, also, of *State Papers*, including *Miscellaneous Remarks on the Proceedings of the State of New York against the State of Vermont*. His *Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont* was published while he resided in London in 1798. He once said to the Green Mountain Boys: "As I view it, we are probationers to act not only for ourselves but for posterity, even as in some degree it was with Adam in his original purity. Each man is accountable to his Creator for the part he now takes, for on the conduct of the present age depends the liberties of millions yet unborn."

The first heroic statue erected in the Green Mountain State was that of Ethan Allen, by the sculptor Kinney of Burlington, unveiled in the State Capitol at Montpelier in 1852. In November, 1855, the Legislature passed an Act to erect a statue of Ethan Allen, to mark his tomb in Green Mount Cemetery, overlooking Winooski's Falls. The statue sculptured by the Boston sculptor, Stephenson, represents the hero in the act of demanding the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga.

A monumental group of Ira Allen together with Dr. Jonas Fay and Dr. Thomas Young, the framers of Vermont's Declaration of Independence, together with statues of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Samuel Herrick, and Remember Baker

should be placed on the brow of Mount Anthony when it becomes a State Park Reservation.

Their memory then should ever be
Dear to our hearts as liberty;
And while our country has a name
Let us preserve our Allen's fame.

CHAPTER XX

FREE SCHOOL OF WILLIAMSTOWN AND WILLIAMS COLLEGE 1785-1912

It were as well to be educated in the shadow of a mountain as in more classical shades. Some will remember, no doubt, not only that they went to the college, but that they went to the mountain.—THOREAU, *Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*.

Free School of Williamstown, 1790—Williams College, 1793—Pres. Ebenezer Fitch, 1793-1815—Amos Eaton, Henry Dwight Sedgwick, and Robert Sedgwick—Chester Dewey—Samuel J. Mills, Jr.—William Cullen Bryant—Pres. Zephaniah Swift Moore, 1815-1821—Williams College Removal Case—Pres. Edward Dorr Griffin, 1821-1836—Girls' Department—Mark Hopkins—David Dudley Field—Albert Hopkins—Pres. Mark Hopkins, 1836-1872—Astronomical and Meteorological Observatories—Garden, Chip, Mountain, and Gravel Days—Natural History Expeditions—William Dwight Whitney—John Bascom—James Abram Garfield—Bryant and the Alumni Association, 1863—Pres. Paul Ansel Chadbourne, 1872-1881—Pres. Franklin Carter, 1881-1901—Centennial of Williams College, 1893—Pres. Henry Hopkins, 1902-1909—Pres. Harry Augustus Garfield, 1909.

THE white-steepled village of Williamstown was considered "like a day-dream to look at" by Nathaniel Hawthorne in July, 1838, and he thought the students ought to be "day-dreamers," all of them. Thirty years later the Scotchman, President James McCosh of Princeton, thought of the classical hills of Williams, surrounded by imposing mountains, as a place at which the Last Judgment might be held, with the universe assembled on the encircling slopes.

The early history of Williamstown turned predominantly upon a clause penned in Col. Ephraim Williams's Will¹ at

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 479-483.

Albany, July 22, 1755, for the founding of free schools in Williamstown and Adams to educate the children of the pioneer founders of English Hoosac towns. Thirty years later his executors, Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield and Col. John Worthington of Springfield, reported a fund of \$9157 to the General Court for founding the donor's Free Schools according to his Will and desires.

A legislative act passed March 8, 1785, created a corporation known as "The Trustees of the Donation of Ephraim Williams, Esq., for maintaining a Free School in Williamstown." Nine Trustees were appointed, including the Rev. Seth Swift, Judge David Noble, and Thompson Joseph Skinner of Williamstown; Esquire Israel Jones of Adams; the Rev. Daniel Collins of Lanesboro; Deacon William Williams of Dalton, son of Col. Israel Williams; the Rev. Woodbridge Little of Pittsfield; Judge Theodore Sedgwick of Sheffield and Judge John Bacon of Stockbridge, a former pastor of the Old South Church of Boston. Deacon William Williams was later chosen president and the Rev. Seth Swift, treasurer; Esquire Israel Jones and Thompson Joseph Skinner were appointed a committee of finances.

A year later, the inhabitants of Adams presented a petition to the Supreme Judicial Court, showing that Ephraim Williams's Will and desire "for the benefit of the East Town," now Adams and North Adams, had been set aside. That procedure delayed the building of the Free School of Williamstown. On August 19, 1788, the Trustees met at landlord Samuel Kellogg's Mansion House in Williamstown and voted to build the Free School building of brick. The committee received £500 of the bequest to begin levelling down the site of West College and to purchase the rights of Capt. Lemuel Stewart's spring beneath the Willows.

A lottery ticket advertisement appeared in the *Massachusetts Sentinel* of Boston on May 22, 1790, to raise money to

aid in completing the Free School. It proved only a method of taxation upon the Hoosac Valley folk and netted the Trustees about \$3500. On May 26th, Col. Benjamin Simonds was invited to join the building committee, and a brick-kiln was opened at the northern base of Mansion House Hill.

The dimensions of the Free School building were 82 x 42 feet. It was four stories high, with a bevel roof surmounted with a tower. The walls were built very thick and the interior finished in solid white oak. The chapel occupied the second and third floors on the south end of the building; and the thirty-two dormitories, the front of the second and top floor. In 1793 Judge David Noble presented a bell for the tower which was to announce the time for prayer and for recitations. The belfry and dormitories were not changed when the building was remodelled in 1854.

The Seal of the Free School was chosen after the completion of the building in October, 1790, and consisted of the device of a tutor surrounded by three *boy* pupils and the legend: *E. Liberalitate E. Williams Armigeri*. A committee, including President William Williams, the Rev. Seth Swift, and Judge John Bacon, was appointed to engage a tutor at £120 annually. Ebenezer Fitch of Yale, a gentleman thirty-five years of age, was engaged. He arrived at Williamstown in April, 1791, and Judge David Noble presented an acre of land to the School Trustees, upon which Tutor Fitch's house was built. The site is now occupied by the Mark Hopkins Memorial Hall.

The Free School was opened, October 20, 1791, and the first free class consisted of sixty pupils, recruited from the higher classes of the district schools of the town. The pay class under Tutor Fitch consisted of sixty young gentlemen, who paid an annual tuition fee of thirty-five shillings each.

Tutor Fitch and Councillor Daniel Dewey on May 22,

1792, however, presented a petition to the Trustees, showing that Williamstown was "peculiarly favorable to a seminary of a more public and important nature." They expressed a hope of "seeing Massachusetts the Athens of the United States of America, to which young gentlemen from all parts of the Union might resort for instruction in all branches of useful and polite literature." They further suggested that the Free School of Williamstown be incorporated as Williams Hall by the Commonwealth.

A legislative act passed on August 6, 1793, changed the Free School corporation to that of "The President and Trustees of Williams College,"¹ only thirteen months after the opening of the Free School of Williamstown. As additional Trustees to the original nine of the Free School were elected: President Ebenezer Fitch, the Rev. Stephen West of Stockbridge, Col. Elijah Williams—half-brother of the founder Ephraim Williams, of Stockbridge—and Henry Van Schaick of Pittsfield. In 1794, were elected: the Rev. Job Swift of Bennington, John Bradstreet Schuyler—the son of Gen. Philip Schuyler of Schuylerville, N. Y.,—Stephen Van Rensselaer of Rensselaerwyck—the son-in-law of Gen. Philip Schuyler—and the Rev. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins of Norfolk, Conn.; making seventeen Williams College Trustees in all. John Bradstreet Schuyler died in August, 1795, and his name, therefore, was not printed in the General Catalogue.

Williams College was first advertised in the Stockbridge newspaper and opened in October, 1793. Samuel Mackay from Chambly, Canada,—undoubtedly a descendant of the Williamstown proprietor, Æneas Mackay of lot 62—was engaged as Professor of French. He induced several Canadians to attend Williams. The first class, that of 1795, included only four graduates from Stockbridge, and their

¹ The College Seal consisted of a globe, a telescope, pile of books, surmounted by an inkstand and a twig of ivy or laurel.



The Free School of Williamstown, founded by Col. Ephraim Williams, now West College of Williams. Completed in October, 1790, and reconstructed in 1854. William Cullen Bryant entered Williams College as a sophomore October 10, 1810. He occupied the inner room, No. 11, on the east side of the third story until May 8, 1811.

commencement exercises were held in the First Church on the 2d of September. The Trustees published a catalogue containing the names of seventy students, forty of whom belonged to the Free Academy. This was the first college catalogue published in America. At the same time the Adelpic Union was founded, comprising the Philologian and Philotechnian Societies, for debate, oratory, and literature. The Adelpic Union has the distinction of being one of the oldest debating societies in this country.

Meanwhile the attendance at the students' commencements had so increased that the dark old meeting-house was no longer adequate and President Fitch on September 26, 1796, prepared a paper and obtained sixty-five Williamstown names, together with twenty-four names of non-residents, who subscribed over \$4500 toward building the Second Church¹ on the Square. A legislative act passed on February 4, 1797, also appropriated \$10,000 toward building East College, to accommodate the increasing numbers of students. The site was chosen, May 6, 1797, on Capt. Isaac Searles's lot, opposite the old lime-kiln, now the site of Griffin Hall. Skinner Brothers completed East College and the new church simultaneously during the autumn of 1798. Business at that time centred about the Square, and Esquire William Starkweather was appointed first postmaster between January, 1798, and July, 1805. The first post-office occupied Starkweather's store west of Skinner's Mansion House. Ezekiel Bacon, a Yale graduate and son of Judge Bacon of Stockbridge, became second postmaster and held that office until 1807. His successor was Henry Clinton Brown, a Free School graduate and son of the famous Col. John Brown of Pittsfield. After the building of Green River Road by Keyes Danforth, Sr., in 1827 and Spring Street in 1848, business moved from the Square down to River and Spring streets,

¹ See illustration, Chapter viii.

and the Third Congregational Church in 1864 was also erected on Main Street, opposite Spring Street.

The Class of 1798 was the first to hold its commencement in the new Second Church on the Square. During the French Revolution, the religious and political attitude of some of the Trustees of Williams College and the Church was such as to injure the college town. The Federalists, including President Ebenezer Fitch, the Rev. Seth Swift of the Second Church, Judge David Noble, Daniel Dewey, Gen. Samuel Sloan, Levi Smedley, Nehemiah Woodcock, Asa Burbank, and Dr. Remember Sheldon, held a neutral position. The Democrats included Gen. Thompson Joseph Skinner, Deacon Benjamin Skinner, Dr. William Towner, Dr. Samuel Porter, William Young, Absalom Blair and his son, William Blair, Samuel Kellogg, Keyes Danforth, and others, who, according to the *French Directory*, favored Privateering. This was injurious to American commerce. President John Adams was forced to organize a navy, and he levied an army under the command of Gen. George Washington. Williams students of the Class of 1798 volunteered their services to President Adams, but they were not called out for duty.

One of the fifteen members of the Class of 1799 was Amos Eaton, the distinguished American botanist and geologist, son of Capt. Abel Eaton of Chatham, N. Y., and the maternal grandson of the soldier, Amos Hurd, who died in North Adams in 1759. After graduation he studied law with Alexander Hamilton in New York City and met the scientists, Dr. David Hosack and Samuel L. Mitchell. Later he opened an office in the Catskills and during surveying expeditions began to study the flora and mineralogy of the region. He published his *Elementary Treatise on American Botany* in 1810, and five years later began the study of botany and geology under Professors Silliman and Ives at Yale. During 1817, Prof. Chester Dewey of Williams, Class of 1806,

invited Amos Eaton to give a course of lectures to volunteer students at his Alma Mater.

A letter¹ in the Archives of Williams, dated April 8, 1817, addressed to Amos Eaton, the author of *Richards's Botanical Dictionary*, published by Webster and Skinner of Albany is signed by sixty-three students who attended those lectures, among the signatures being that of Dr. Ebenezer Emmons, founder of the Taconac System² and author of *Manual of Mineralogy and Geology*. A later edition of Eaton's *Manual of Botany* was dedicated to the president and professors of Williams College. He said: "The science of Botany is indebted to you for its first introduction into the interior of the United States; and I am indebted to you for a passport into the scientific world."

The science of geology in America is indebted to Amos Eaton and his pupil, Ebenezer Emmons, who began to study the rock formation of the Hoosacs' Lake District of Rensselaer Plateau, west of the Taconacs, in 1818. At the same time, Professors Sedgwick and Otley began to study the geology of the Lake District of Cumberland Hills,³ in England.

Gov. De Witt Clinton in 1818 invited Amos Eaton to lecture before the members of the Albany Legislature. Later Eaton published his *Index to Geology* and was appointed to make a geological survey of the State of New York. In 1824, he published the *Natural History of New York*, and in his Preface said: "We have at least five distinct and continuous strata, neither of which can with propriety take any name hitherto given and defined in any European *Treatise* which has reached this country."

Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, a Trustee of Williams Col-

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 289.

² See Introductory, "The Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains."

³ Rawnsley's *English Lakes*, I., p. 123.

lege, later founded Rensselaer's School of Science at Troy, N. Y. He appointed Amos Eaton, senior professor until his death in 1842. The eighth edition of Eaton's *North American Botany*, published in 1840, contained 625 pages, describing 5267 species of plants. This manual was followed by Oakes's *Flora of Vermont*, published in Thompson's *Vermont History*, in 1842.

During President Fitch's term of office at Williams, two rebellions took place among the students and faculty, one in 1802, and another in 1808. These two outbreaks, together with the defalcation of the treasurer, Thompson Joseph Skinner, affected the history of Williams College and threw it into temporary decline. During this period, however, Samuel J. Mills, Jr., from Torrington, Conn., the "Father of American Foreign Missions," entered the Freshman Class, in April, 1806; and the future poet, William Cullen Bryant, from Cummington, Mass., entered the Sophomore Class, October 9, 1810. Bryant was established in room 11 on the third floor, next to the northeast corner of West College, in company with John Avery from Conway, Mass., a student ten years his senior, studying for the Episcopal Ministry. The campus of Williams at that time consisted of the East College and West College buildings, connected by a straight avenue between Lombardy poplars.

The poet, Bryant, said in his *Autobiography*, sixty-one years later, that he owed much to his room-mate's example and counsels, during his seven months' course at Williams College. Avery was at that time a member of the Philotechnian Society of the Adelphic Union, and persuaded Bryant to join that society and encouraged his muse. The library of the Adelphic Union, containing over one hundred volumes, stood in an alcove of the hall outside Bryant's room. Among the recent works of that period were found Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, pub-

lished in 1809, and Thomas Moore's *Odes and Epistles*, published in 1806, which included Anacreon's *Odes* and Moore's American poems and letters, written during his visit to the Hudson and St. Lawrence in 1804.

Bryant mastered Latin prosody by himself at Williams and translated Anacreon's *Ode to Spring*, comparing it critically with Moore's translation. John Avery showed the literary critic of the Junior Class unsigned copies of both Bryant's and Moore's translations. The critic gave the preference to Bryant's translation, and spoke encouragingly of Moore's. This was flattering to the young poet, who said as a child that he used to pray that he might receive the gift of poetic genius, and write verses that might endure.

Bryant recorded that it was the custom of the Sophomores, previous to 1809, to seize the Freshmen and compel them to go through a series of burlesque ceremonies, called "gamutizing." Several roguish fellows often kidnapped the stalwart student guarding the belfry on the third floor of West College, in order to delay recitations or prayers for belated students. It is locally reported that strayed calves from the lanes have been led up the stairs of West College and found bellowing from the front hall window in the morning by their owners. It proved an easy task to "gamutize" a calf, but not an easy one to get the conceited animal down to earth after it had been an orator in the library of the Adelphic Union.

Bryant's room-mate, John Avery, desired to complete his theological studies at Yale, and urged young Bryant to join him there. After seven months at Williams, Bryant thus asked honorable dismissal on May 8, 1811. His father, Dr. Peter Bryant, however, was unable to send his son to Yale or even let him return to Williams; and the poet was forced to enter the law office of Sedgwick Brothers in New York City. Bryant later referred to the office work as



Gen. Samuel Sloan's Mansion built in 1801, north of West College. It is now occupied by Williams College Presidents.

“drudging for the dregs of men,” and “scrawling strange words with a barbarous pen,” in the last stanza of his poem, *Green River*.

Bryant wrote a satire in the spring of 1811, entitled *Descriptio Gulielmopolis*, depicting the muddy walks of Williams's campus, and the frowning tutors guarding the dusty and cobwebby halls of learning. This was read before the Philotechnian Society in March, 1812, by the poet's classmate, Charles Jenkins, who possessed a copy of the satire; or later after young Jenkins was elected tutor at Williams, between 1816 and 1819. His son, Dr. J. L. Jenkins, inherited the famous poem after his father's death in 1831. He subsequently became an alumnus of Yale and published the poem. It was, after William Cullen Bryant's death, mentioned by George William Curtis in his *Memorial Oration*, before the New York Historical Society, December 20, 1878. It greatly interested the alumni of Williams and copies of it appear in Williams College history.¹

Ebenezer Fitch² resigned the Presidency of Williams, May 2, 1815. A committee of six of the College Trustees, including Theophilus Packard of Shelburne, Thaddeus Pomeroy of Stockbridge, Joseph Lyman of Northampton, Samuel Shepherd of Lenox, Daniel Noble of Williamstown, and Joseph Woodbridge of Stockbridge, were appointed to consider the removal of Williams College to the Connecticut Valley, east of the barrier of the “Forbidden Hoosac Mountain.” However, it proved inexpedient to remove the college, owing to the forbidding attitude of the founders of the English Hoosac towns. Trustee Packard temporarily engaged Prof. Zephaniah Swift Moore of Dartmouth College to accept the Presidency of Williams with a provisional promise of its final removal to Amherst.

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 339-346.

² No portrait of President Fitch exists in the *Archives of Williams College*.

President Moore¹ was a son of Lieut. Judah Moore, of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian origin, who in 1776 located with Colonel Thomson and the grandfathers of Elder Brigham Young, and the late Judge Levi Chandler Ball, in Wilmington, Vt., seventeen miles east of Bennington Centre. Young Moore attended Clio Hall at Bennington Centre in 1778 under Tutor Eldad Dewey. He prepared for Dartmouth College and in 1793 graduated at the age of twenty-three. He married Phoebe Drury of Auburn, Mass., and became pastor of the Leicester Church and subsequently professor at Dartmouth, which office he held until elected President of Williams College in 1815.

Trustee Packard of Shelburne later proposed the petition for the removal of Williams College to Amherst, and in November, 1818, nine of the twelve Trustees consented to this. The three Trustees who voted against its removal from Hoosac Valley were David Noble of Williamstown, Israel Jones of Adams, and Levi Glezen of Stockbridge.

President Moore and the other Trustees favoring the removal of the College met at a convention of the Hampshire County people at Northampton in August, 1819; and the three opposing Trustees met with a large conclave of Berkshire people at Pittsfield two months later. The Berkshire citizens determined that "they knew not what would restore to the community that confidence that sweetens life and binds society together; nor where would be found that balm which would heal the wounds," if Williams College should be removed from Williamstown.

The Hampshire County folk and their Trustees subscribed \$50,000 and presented their petition to the Legislature on January 17, 1820, for aid in the removal of the College. The Berkshire County citizens also held a convention at Williamstown, December 27, 1819, and subscribed \$17,000 payable

¹ Tyler's *History of Amherst College*, 1873.

within ten years to the Legislature for the non-removal of Williams College to the Connecticut Valley. Trustees Noble, Jones, and Glezen prepared a petition, and engaged Judge Charles A. Dewey of Williamstown to draw up a legal remonstrance against the College's removal, which they presented, together with President Fitch's Report of the College, read before the Historical Society of Massachusetts in 1802, to the Legislature, January 17, 1820.

The Senate and House discussed two questions: "Was it legal?" and "Was it expedient to remove Williams College?" In the similar Dartmouth College Case of 1819, Judge Nathaniel Niles of West Fairlee, Vt., was the principal Trustee for the corporation, and he engaged councillors Daniel Webster and William Wirt to defend the College. Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Court, therefore, sustained Webster's novel and much questioned plea: "That a gift to a charitable institution of learning is a 'contract,' in the sense of the Constitution of the United States, between donor and trustees. To impair the obligation of a contract by any law of any State is forbidden by the national Constitution."

The final decision of the Dartmouth Case influenced the vote of the Massachusetts Senate on February 8, 1820, which was 31 to 5; and that of the House on February 14th following, which stood 120 to 25 against the removal of Williams College. The General Court's decision, rendered to President Moore and his nine Trustees of Williams was: "That it was neither *lawful* nor *expedient* to grant the prayer of the petitioners."

President Moore's chief argument before the Legislature for the removal of Williams College was that Col. Ephraim Williams's Will and desire for the founding of the Free School of Williamstown had already been wilfully broken and set aside, in the first place by excluding girls in 1791, and in the



Three Presidents of Williams College.

Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, D.D. (1815-1821).

Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D. (1836-1872).

Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, D.D. (1821-1836).

second place by converting the Free School into Williams College in 1793. Josiah Quincy in his address before the Senate on February 8, 1820, said:

The trustees came all the way to Boston to make a confession of a great crime. They tell us that so long ago as 1793 they perverted the Free School Fund, which the donor designed for the use of the poor people of Williamstown (and Adams; for the education of the children of the inhabitants, including *boys* and *girls* alike) to the use of their college, that it was a great violation of a sacred trust. . . . What can be the object of this extraordinary penitential confession? Do they want absolution? No. That is not what they want. . . . In consideration of their confessing one crime, they ask your indulgence to be permitted to commit another. They tell you in so many words that we have now seven and twenty years been perverting to our own use and contrary to the will of the donor one half of our present funds; in consideration of which we pray liberty *to abscond with the residue!*

The original manuscript copy of Quincy's Speech¹ to the Senate was presented to President Mark Hopkins of Williams a year previous to Quincy's death in 1863, and is found in the College Archives to-day.

In May, 1821, the Trustees of Amherst Charity Academy elected President Moore for their President and Professor of Theology and Moral Philosophy, at an annual salary of \$1200, and he accepted the office in a letter dated at Williamstown in June of the same year. He announced his resignation of the Presidency of Williams to the eighty students assembled in the Chapel of West College, and half of them resolved to join him at Amherst or to take their degrees elsewhere.

The Senior Class called a meeting and Emerson Davis

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 407.

and Erastus Benedict addressed the wavering students. Fifteen remained and took their degrees at Williams in September, from the hands of the retired President Moore in the presence of the Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, who was subsequently elected President of Williams. On September 5, 1821, the former graduates of Williams met in the Chapel of West College and organized the famous Alumni Society for the promotion of fellowship, literature, and interest in their Alma Mater which was the first society of college graduates in this country. In 1822 the Berkshire Medical Institute was founded at Pittsfield and its degrees were conferred with the academical degrees of Williams College.

President Griffin was graduated at Yale in 1790 and in 1809 became Professor of Pulpit Eloquence at Andover Theological Seminary, and subsequently pastor of the Congregational Church of Newark, N. J. He was known as the "Prince of Preachers." He instructed the Senior Class at Williams and preached a third of the time at the Church of Christ on the Square.

Soon after President Griffin's arrival at Williamstown in 1821, he addressed a letter to Miss Mary Lyon, of Ipswich School for Girls, who in 1830 founded Mount Holyoke School for Girls, requesting her to recommend one of her graduates to take charge of the Girls' Department of Williams College, about to be established, in order to fulfil the Will and desire of the founder. Miss Sarah Thayer received a letter of recommendation from Miss Lyon, accompanied with President Griffin's letter, both of which are found in the Archives of Old Deerfield to-day. Miss Thayer accepted the position. The house occupied by the Girls' Department stood west of the Square, near the junction of Main Street with Hemlock Glen Road, and the girls attended lectures with the boys at the College Chapel. Among the girl students remembered by this generation may be mentioned the venerable Miss

Tyler of Lanesboro, Miss Halstead of North Adams, and Miss Scott, a granddaughter of Phineas Scott of West Bennington.

The Girls' Department of Williams, for want of students, was eventually abandoned, and Miss Thayer opened a Girls' School in the Congregational Church of North Adams, built in 1827, during the pastorate of Parson Long. She subsequently married Truman Paul and became the mother of Jenny Paul-Goodrich, now the President of Fort Massachusetts Historical Society, to whom the writer is indebted for these hitherto unpublished facts.

The Class of 1824 at Williams met with a revival led by the student William Harvey, and Mark Hopkins was converted and joined Stockbridge Church in 1825. One of the members of the Class of 1825 was David Dudley Field, who together with Henry Dwight Sedgwick and Robert Sedgwick of the Class of 1804, and Martin Ingram Townsend of the Class of 1833 are among the most distinguished pioneer jurists of the United States. The Sedgwicks in 1822 published essays on the *Evils and Absurdities of the Practice of English Common Law* in the United States. Two years earlier however, Edward Livingston of Princeton, after Robert Livingston's Louisiana Purchase from Emperor Napoleon of France, drew up the Civil Code of Louisiana which was adopted in 1823.

Later the Sedgwicks adopted Livingston's Code of Louisiana as a model and revised the Code of New York, which was not completed until after their death by their partner, David Dudley Field. Stephen J. Field, a brother of David Dudley Field of the Class of 1837, also became his partner in 1840, and ten years later moved to California and framed the Judiciary Act of that State.

The Legislature of New York in 1857 began a law reform, and commissioned David Dudley Field to prepare a political,

penal, and civil code and procedures, embracing the whole body of the law. He became greatly honored in Europe and was recognized as the New England Gladstone. He lived to behold Parliament adopt the principles and forms of his Civil Code of New York in England's Supreme Court of Judicature Act, and was foremost in promoting a Code of International Law with European publicists. At a banquet of the Law Reform Society in London, Lord Brougham stated that Field's New York Code had been introduced in the most distant British colonies and that, an "American was giving law to Australia."

In 1825, the Trustees of Williams resolved to raise \$25,000 to build Griffin Chapel and found a Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Meanwhile Prof. Chester Dewey resigned the chair of Natural Science to take charge of the Pittsfield Gymnasium, a school for boys. He owned the largest herbarium of the genus of sedges in the world, and this he presented to Williams College before his death in 1867. After Dewey's departure, Albert Hopkins was chosen for the Professorship of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, which he filled until 1862, when he was elected Memorial Professor of Astronomy, an office founded by David Dudley Field, in which he continued until his death in 1872.

The historic newspaper, *The American Advocate*, was founded and printed by Ridley Bannister at Williamstown in 1827 in the Old Academy building on Spring Street. He was a kinsman of Homer and Addison Bannister of Pownal, Vt. His paper advocated the Democratic policy against the Federalists during the period when Henry Clay was a candidate for Presidency of the United States against John Quincy Adams. Clay was supported by Henry Shaw, the father of the humourist, "Josh Billings" of Lanesboro, and several Benningtonians. There are seventy-six numbers of the paper preserved in Williams College Archives. A list of

plants and minerals collected by Dr. Ebenezer Emmons during his rides between Cheshire, Williamstown, and Pownal Bogs of Ashawagh,¹ together with the religious essays of Prof. Albert Hopkins, signed "U," also appeared in *The Advocate*. Mark Hopkins delivered his master's *Oration on Mystery* at Williams commencement in September, 1827. This famous oration was published in Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts* in April, 1828; his address before the Stockbridge Agricultural Society appeared in *The American Advocate* during October, 1827. The newspaper ceased publication in November, 1828.

Col. Henry W. Dwight, Jr., of Stockbridge, a former Representative of the State of Massachusetts at Washington, championed Dr. Mark Hopkins and he obtained license to preach. After the death of Prof. William Porter of Williams in 1830, Dr. Mark Hopkins accepted the vacant chair of Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric. Three years later President Griffin had a slight paralytic stroke. On June 15, 1834, he organized the Williams College Church in Griffin Chapel. It proved his last official act previous to his resignation on September 28, 1836. The first three names on the College Church records included those of Mark Hopkins, Albert Hopkins, and Tutor Simeon H. Calhoun.

Prof. Mark Hopkins, during President Griffin's decline, became instructor of the Senior Class of 1834 and was elected President of Williams College in 1836. His Inaugural Address was entitled *A Wise System of Education*. He became the greatest educator in New England.

Between 1834 and the semi-centennial in 1843 began the progressive period of Williams College. Prof. Albert Hopkins sailed for Europe at his own expense in September, 1834, to procure apparatus for his astronomical and meteorological observatories. After his return in November, 1836, he

¹ See Note 1 at end of volume.

repaired with a party of students wielding crow-bars to the quartzite ledges on Alberta's Mountain (East Range) and quarried the rock of which the ancient astronomical observatory was constructed. It was dedicated on June 12, 1838. Albert Hopkins is justly known as the "Father of



*Hopkins's Astronomical Observatory, founded by Prof. Albert Hopkins, 1838.
It is the first observatory of its kind erected in America.*

American Astronomy," although a dozen years earlier, in 1826, a small astronomical observatory was built by the University of North Carolina.

Few of this generation know anything about the Garden, Chip, Mountain, and Gravel Days, connected with the gymnastic exercises of Williams College students between 1793 and 1872, now replaced by Lassell's Gymnasium and by exercises on Weston's Field. The pioneer students owned their own wood-piles, and became masters at kindling fires,

saw-buck philosophy, and drawing water up the slippery path from the College Spring, unless wealthy enough to engage Bill Pratt to assume those duties for them. Half a cord of wood lasted a term, and two quarts of burning fluid proved sufficient for the midnight spirit-lamp for two weeks.

The Class of 1850 was the first to construct a gymnasium apparatus in the field southwest of West College. It consisted of one horizontal bar, a fixed sloping ladder for hand climbing, one sliding pole, and three swinging ropes. The apparatus was destroyed by some malicious person one night and all except one strand cut in the ropes, injuring all beyond repair.

Garden Day was established by Prof. Albert Hopkins and Prof. Ebenezer Kellogg. The latter presented an acre of ground to the College in 1835 for a public garden, after which the first Horticultural Society for landscape gardening in this country was organized. In a subsequent day (1877), Cyrus W. Field presented \$10,000 to Williamstown to beautify Main Street by removing fences, laying out Field Park, and lighting the streets with gas. Water was conducted in pipes to the College dormitories from Cold Spring in Hemlock Glen in 1888. Chip Day was introductory for Garden Day, and occurred about the middle of May during the third term. The students raked up the chips and saw-dust about their wood-piles and prepared the campus for the summer months.

Mountain Day came on the second Monday of the third term, and several students climbed to Mount Greylock and remained overnight to behold the sunrise from Albert Hopkins's Meteorological Observatory. Henry D. Thoreau visited Mount Greylock during July, 1846, and, interested in the object of the tower, said that "it would be no small advantage if every college were thus located at the base of a mountain, as good at least as one well-endowed professorship. . . .

Every visit to its summit would, as it were, generalize the particular information gained below, and subject it to more catholic tests."

The second Monday of the fall term was known as Gravel Day, and was observed by the students hauling gravel to spread over the paths of the campus. This custom passed away about 1850, when each student was assessed, and men were hired with teams to haul the gravel, while the students took a holiday, known as Mountain Day later, to some historic or natural history field in Hoosac Valley.

The Natural History Society of Williams in 1835 organized the first ecological expedition in this country, headed by Prof. Albert Hopkins, Dr. Ebenezer Emmons, Tutor Calhoun, seventeen students, and three townsmen. They set sail from Boston on the Yarmouth sloop *Flight* and visited St. Johns, New Brunswick, Halifax, and Windsor, Nova Scotia. Professor Hopkins wrote an account of the expedition, which appeared, October, 1835, in *The American Traveler*,¹ a paper published by a Williams alumnus.

The most distinguished visitor at Williams College commencement on August 15, 1838, was the novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne. In his *American Note-Book* he describes the yeoman's daughters' sunburnt necks and silk and cambric dresses; and the rough, brown-featured, school-master-looking, half-bumpkin, half-scholarly graduates, dressed in black, ill-cut broadcloth, and pumps. He considered their manners very bad, although he discovered gentlemanly fellows there, including his hero, Eustace Bright, who figured in *Tanglewood Tales* and *Wonder Book*.

Hawthorne evidently enjoyed studying the crowd of fugitive slaves from White Oaks, dispensing ginger-bread, watermelon, and apple-toddy about the Square; while a Jewish auctioneer from New York with his heterogeneous

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 566-570.

articles, and Sheriff Twining of Pittsfield with his pockets bulging with writs of ejectment were, to the novelist, a part of the commencement exercises that attracted him above President Mark Hopkins's address or the orations of the graduates.

President Mark Hopkins's Baccalaureate orations were always considered profound, but the eloquence of his Address to the Alumni at the semi-centennial of the College, in 1843, surpassed them all. Of the Alumni he said:

They have come from the yeomanry of the country, from the plough and the work-shop, with clear heads, and firm nerves, and industrious habits, and unpervverted tastes—in need, it may be, of polish, but susceptible of the highest. . . . The progress of knowledge and improvement is like the gradual accumulation of a pile to which every scholar may be expected to add something, as every Indian is said to have laid a stone upon the pile at the foot of Monument Mountain, but in other respects it is more like the progress of a fire which is set at certain points, and spreads on every side. Luther, and Bacon, and Newton, and Carey, and Samuel J. Mills, set fires, and he who does this to any extent does something for the race, even though that which kindled the blaze was but a spark, and was lost in the brightness and glow of the succeeding conflagration. . . .

The teacher is to make nature the principle, and, as far as possible, is to let her do her own teaching. . . . Have the means and apparatus to do this fully, and your course loses the character of mere book-learning. The student is led to direct communion with nature, and with nature's God, and though you do not advance science immediately, yet you kindle fires. You incorporate your course into the very being. You awake thoughts and feelings, "that shall perish never."

Mark Hopkins's system of education was likened to that of Socrates; and he never realized himself that he practised a

manner in teaching pursued by Plato, who labored to awaken the creative and reflective minds of his pupils, urging them to arrive at definite conclusions of their own rather than to accept the definite conclusions of others.

After thirty-six years of service, President Mark Hopkins resigned his office to Paul Ansel Chadbourne of the Class of 1848 on July 27, 1872. The ceremony of passing the keys of Williams College over to his pupil was most impressive. President Chadbourne's inaugural oration was followed by Dr. John Bascom's welcoming address in behalf of the faculty; and by James Abram Garfield's address in behalf of the alumni. President Chadbourne resigned his office in June, 1881, and accepted the Presidency of Amherst Agricultural College.

Franklin Carter of the Class of 1862 succeeded to the Presidency of Williams in 1881 and held the office for twenty years, resigning in 1901. The late Henry Hopkins of the Class of 1858, son of Mark Hopkins, was chosen President of Williams in 1901. He resigned his office in 1908, and was succeeded by Harry Augustus Garfield, of the Class of 1885, a son of James Abram Garfield of the Class of 1856.

Gen. James Abram Garfield, in an address delivered at Washington, February, 1879, previous to his election as President of the United States said: "Give me a simple cabin with a log inside, Mark Hopkins sitting upon one end of the log and myself upon the other, and that is College enough for me." A Boston jurist also said: "I have never yet met with a graduate of Williams College who did not bear in himself, in some measure, the impress of Mark Hopkins. Williams College and Mark Hopkins! How inseparably connected are those names!"

Bryant's Class of 1813 held its fiftieth reunion during the perilous autumn of 1863. The absent poet sent a poem which was read by Gen. Charles Frederick Sedgwick. He said:

The Hoosac Valley

Look back on fifty years. Large space are they
Of man's brief life, those fifty years; they join
Its ruddy morning to the paler light
Of its declining hours. . . .

. The sapling tree
Which then was planted stands a shaggy trunk,
Moss-grown, the centre of a mighty shade.¹

At the meeting of the Alumni Association in 1869, William Cullen Bryant was chosen president. Mark Hopkins in his introduction said: "He is one having the wisdom of age in his youth and the vigour of youth in his old age."

The Class of 1850 included the names of Dudley Field, William T. Booth, and William D. Porter. Dudley Field delivered the Philosophical Oration; his father, David Dudley Field, addressed the alumni; and his grandfather, the Rev. David Field of Stockbridge, offered the closing prayer. The loyalty of the sons of Williams is illustrated by their donations for erecting halls and fraternity buildings on the classical hills of Williamstown, including Morgan Hall, Hopkins Memorial Hall, Thompson Biological Laboratories, and the Thompson Memorial Chapel, the finest cathedral in Hoosac Valley, and a host of other buildings.

Among the seven most eminent alumni of Williams during its first century, according to the late historian Arthur Latham Perry, may be included:

| | | |
|--------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| 1—Amos Eaton | 1799 | Naturalist and Promoter |
| 2—William Cullen Bryant | 1813 | Poet and Publicist |
| 3—Mark Hopkins | 1824 | Teacher and Preacher |
| 4—David Dudley Field | 1825 | Lawyer and Codifier |
| 5—William Dwight Whitney | 1845 | Scholar and Lexicographer |
| 6—John Bascom | 1849 | Thinker and Orator |
| 7—James Abram Garfield | 1856 | Worker and Winner |

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 348-9.



The Campus of Williams College, looking eastward from West College Hill. Lassell's Gymnasium Hall on right; Mark Hopkins Memorial Chapel on left.

Perry considered that William Dwight Whitney and John Bascom were the most scholarly men ever graduated at Williams College. To the above list might be added ten times seven other eminent names, which would certainly include those of Samuel J. Mills, Jr., the brothers, Henry Dwight and Robert Sedgwick, Chester Dewey, Ebenezer Emmons, Albert Hopkins, Martin I. Townsend, and Arthur Latham Perry, who have "set fires" in the minds of other generations than their own.

The General Catalogue of Williams College between 1793 and 1903 contains the names of 4685 graduates, and over 445 non-graduates, who have received honorary degrees, including Edward Everett Hale, Joseph Hodge Choate, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, and other famous men.

The Centennial of Williams was celebrated, October 8, 1893. Orations were delivered by the Alumni, Rev. Henry Hopkins, late President of Williams; Charles Cuthbert Hall, James Hulme Canfield, and Granville Stanley Hall. The Rev. Washington Gladden read a poem on the founding of the College in 1793, in which he says:

A hundred years their gifts have brought
To crown the work that day begun;
And flames off this altar caught
Light every land beneath the sun.

CHAPTER XXI

SLAVERY AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN MISSIONS 1773-1906

The Field is the World

INSCRIPTION ON MISSION MONUMENT.

Proto-Abolitionists—Fugitive Slaves—Separatism—Infidelism—Old Lights—New Lights—Samuel J. Mills, Jr.—Haystack Prayer-meeting—Birth of American Foreign and Home Missions—Semi-Centennial of Foreign Missions, 1856—Haystack Monument—Protestant and Roman Catholic Parishes—Civil War—Centennial of Foreign Missions, 1906.

STRANGERS visiting Mission Park in Williamstown, Mass., are attracted by the odd "Haystack Monument," which marks the birthplace of American Foreign Missions. The pedestal is surmounted by a huge marble world, on which are represented in outline the five continents. Yonder Dome and Old Greylock are not the Mounts of Lebanon, nor is the devious Hoosac the Orontes of ancient Antioch where the *first* band of Christians assembled. Yet "Haystack Monument" marks the modern Antioch of the New World, where Samuel J. Mills, Jr., and four Christian classmates of Williams, including Richards, Robbins, Loomis and Green in August, 1806, during a thunder-storm, offered prayers beneath a haystack, which occasion led to the organization of the Society of United Brethren, that first carried the story of Christ to the heathens of Asia and poor, degraded Africa.

The cruelties of the slave trade led many students to protest against slavery. The Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Great

Barrington Church of Old Berkshire proved the first practical proto-abolitionist in America, preaching against the slave traders' cruelty from 1745 until his death. Harriet Beecher Stowe describes Parson Hopkins as the hero in her *Minister's Wooing*. He was a brother of Col. Mark Hopkins, the grandfather of the late President Mark Hopkins of Williams College. The poet Whitter said of Samuel Hopkins that he once owned a slave whom he sold, and devoted the proceeds of the sale to educate a Negro missionary. After his removal to Newport, R. I., in 1770, Parson Hopkins rose before his wealthy slave-holding congregation and in the name of the Highest demanded "the opening of the prison doors to them that were bound."

During 1773, Samuel Hopkins and his neighbor, Rev. Ezra Stiles, organized the first missionary society in New England. They made appeals for money to educate Negro ministers to found Christian colonies in Africa, but the War of the American Revolution prevented the missionaries sailing for Africa. The following year, on June 3, 1774, Nathaniel Niles, grandson of the Rev. Solomon Niles, the first minister of the Second Church of Braintree, Mass., preached the first practical abolition sermon, entitled *Civil Liberty*,¹ in the American colonies at the Old North Church in Newburyport, Mass.

Samuel Hopkins, Ezra Stiles, and Nathaniel Niles were all friends of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills of Torrington Church, Conn., editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, publishing the missionary news in the colonies. Mills's youngest son, Samuel, was born, April 21, 1783, and was familiar with the Connecticut missionary society's hope of founding missions in Asia and Africa, and as a child was consecrated by his parents as a foreign missionary.

Foreign missions, both in England and New England,

¹ Nathan N. Withington, "A Clergyman of Old," *N. E. Mag.*, February, 1905.



Haystack Monument, Mission Park, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

The Birthplace of American Foreign Missions—the New Antioch, where Samuel J. Mills, Jr., and four classmates of Williams College held a Prayer-meeting beneath a haystack during an August thunder-storm in 1806, which resulted in the organization of both Foreign and Home Missions in America.

were conceived in individual souls. William Corey, known as the "Father of British Foreign Missions," a cobbler and Baptist Elder of London in 1786 first advocated carrying Christianity to the heathens of Asia, but his plea for aid was frowned down. However, in 1793, he in company with missionary Thomas were sent to India and founded the first Baptist mission colony. John Corey of Fort Massachusetts and his kindred, Benedict and Paris Corey of Pownal propriety, were lineal descendants of Elder William Corey of London.

The first chaplains of Fort Massachusetts, including the Rev. Thomas Strong and Rev. Stephen West, between 1756 and 1758 were Yale graduates, as were the first ministers of Williamstown and Adams, and the subsequent Ebenezer Fitch, first President of Williams College. These divines all came under the instruction of the Rev. Naphtali Daggett, First Professor of Divinity, between 1755 and 1777, and subsequently President of Yale College. He died in 1780 of wounds received in battle with the British at New Haven in 1777, and was succeeded by the learned Ezra Stiles.

Home Missions in Hoosac Valley were first instituted between 1761 and 1763, when the Rev. Hugh Peters of the Separatists' Church travelled among the first 30,000 settlers, residing between Hoosac Tunnel Mountain and Canada. His kinsman, Gen. Absalom Peters of Wentworth, N. H., and his wife, who was a lineal descendant of John Rogers, the "Martyr of Catechism," became the parents of Absalom Peters, a subsequent pastor of the Old First Church of Bennington Centre, Vt. He was chosen Secretary of the Society of United Missions in 1825 and during 1837 was elected Secretary of the Board of American Home Missions, and is known to-day as the "Father of Home Missions." Parson Peters edited the *Home Missionary* and *Pastor's Jour-*

Slavery and Birthplace of American Missions 413

nal, while at Bennington; and later became pastor of the First Church of Williamstown between 1844 and 1857, where he met many missionaries.

During the English, American, and French Revolutions, a great deal was published relating to the Brownists' or Separatists' Systems of Luther, Calvin, Eliot, Robinson, Mather, Penn, Stoddard, Edwards, Sergeant, Brainard, Zinzendorf, Spencer, Francke, Hopkins, Whitefield, Wesley, Embury, Warren, Miller, Ann Lee, Brigham Young, and Bushnell. Henry Ward Beecher said that: "It was a bad generation of books!" Publications between the American and French Revolutions included either abnormally pious memoirs of missionaries or the outpourings of infidels. Among these were Jonathan Edwards's *Divine Revelation*, a contrast to Ethan Allen's *Oracle of Reason*, published at Bennington Centre, Vt., in 1782, followed by Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. The latter, written in a French prison in 1793, greatly influenced the abolition of slavery in New England.

The trial of Warren Hastings and the anti-slavery writings of Wilberforce roused New Englanders against the slave-trade. Slavery, however, was prohibited in Vermont's Constitution. On November 28, 1777, Capt. Ebenezer Allen of Tinmouth, a cousin of Ethan Allen, captured Diana Mattis and her infant, Nancy, with a few British soldiers on Lake Champlain. He gave her a certificate of emancipation, he being "conscientious that it was not right in the sight of God to keep slaves." This paper is found recorded in the County Clerk's Office at Bennington to-day. Three years later, the Rev. David Avery was installed pastor of the First Church of Bennington Centre, and insisted upon his right to retain a Negro woman as slave. Several of his parishioners refused Holy Communion from his hands, and he was forced to resign in May, 1783. Judge Theophilus Har-

ington made slavery impossible in the Green Mountains, when in 1803 he demanded a Shaftsbury slave-owner to produce a "Bill of Sale for his slaves from the Almighty God."

During 1781, Brom and Bet, through alleged cruelty of the wealthy slave-trader, Col. John Ashley, son of Elder Jonathan Ashley of the First Church of Old Deerfield in Berkshire, ran away and refused to return to their master. Colonel Ashley engaged Judge David Noble of Williamstown, and Judge Canfield of Sharon, Conn., while Brom and Bet secured the volunteered councils of Judge Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge and Tapping Reeve of Litchfield Hill, Conn. The latter proved the first American jurist to arrange a *Treatise on the Domestic Relation* from England's Common Law, advocating women's rights.

The case of Brom and Bet was decided in favor of Ashley by the Supreme Judicial Court, but the slaves never returned to their master, and *Marm* Bet remained the maid of Catherine Sedgwick until her death. In the subsequent case of Greenwood *versus* Curtiss in 1802, Judge Sedgwick advocated Lord Mansfield's plea in the Negro Sumerset, case: That by the law of Nature, which was the law of Massachusetts, one man cannot have a legitimate property in another, and that any contract involving such property was therefore void. Slavery was practically abolished in Massachusetts after the case of Brom and Bet, although it was not done away with in Dutch Hoosac, New York, until the Emancipation Act in 1827. At the opening of 1800, there were 34,000 slaves in New York State, selling at an average price of \$325 each, and manorial "Nigger-whippers" were appointed until 1827.

The slaves of the Dutch patroons of Hoosac and Rensselaerwyck, between 1664 and 1811, celebrated Pass and Pinxster Festivals. On Pinxster Day, Whitsun Monday in May,

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began a week's holiday for the Negroes. They assembled on Pinxster Hill in Albany or in Troy, where they gathered Pinxster-flowers, (*Azalea nudiflora*,) and paraded the village streets. The evenings were spent in feasting, dancing, and love-making. Old King Charlie from Columbia County and Uncle Tom from Knickerbacker's Schaghticoke Manor on the lower Hoosac, of charcoal blackness, were clad in gold-laced scarlet coat and yellow breeches, and amused the crowd with antics and songs. Owing to the Bacchanalian



Uncle Abe-the-Bunter, White Oaks Glen.

A fugitive slave from a Virginian plantation, who resided with the Parsons family in White Creek and Dutch Hoosac, New York, whence he escaped to White Oaks and built his cabin on an island in Broad Brook above the Sand Springs. He was known locally as Abraham Parsons. The designation of "Abe-the-Bunter" originated from a horny growth on his occipital skull. He won wagers with the College students, breaking a grindstone disguised as a hard cheese in a bag, and bursting the head of an oak hogshead of molasses. He married Elsie Orcombright, a daughter of the Stockbridge Chieftain Orcombright, and died at the Williamstown Poor-House in 1899 at an unknown age.

custom of Pinxster week, it was finally abolished by the Albany Council, April 28, 1811.

Between 1781 and 1827 several Negro slaves of Berkshire, Albany, Saratoga, and Dutch Hoosac fled to English Hoosac and settled on the banks of Broad Brook in White Oaks Glen, Williamstown. Among those fugitives may be mentioned Emerson Davis, Moses Todd, Samuel Porter, Ishmael Tite, Abraham Parsons, Blind Jake, Aunt Dinah Jackson-Jones, Polly Cato, Polly Martin, the Duncan, Lansing, Vincent, Curtiss, and Adams families. The Indian Holmes and his Negro wife, Phoebe, resided near Phoebe Brook, where Holmes was killed at the turkey shoot near the cider-still spring in Ford Glen. The chieftain Orcombreight, (All-come-bright), was descended from the royal Mahican King's family seated at Stockbridge. He married a yellow-haired Dutch-Negro half-breed, and they had two sons and two daughters: Dan, Franz, Elsie, and Sarah. The sons married white women and the daughters chose Abraham Parsons and George Adams, typical full-blood Negroes. Orcombreight died at Nathan Worthy's home, west of Williamstown, about 1870.

Ishmael Tite and Abraham Parsons made their escape North from a Virginia plantation. The former worked on the Thomas Ayers farm in New Lebanon, N. Y., about 1815, and the latter located in Hoosac, N. Y., with the Parsons family, and both subsequently settled in White Oaks. Abraham Parsons was locally known to the Williams students as "Abe-the-Bunter," owing to a horny growth on his head, proving him equal to winning wagers at cracking grindstones for hard cheeses.

The Rev. Samuel Hopkins and the Rev. Stephen West, both pupils of Jonathan Edwards and graduates of Yale, published a system known as Hopkinsianism in 1793, differing in many ways from Edwards's system of *Divine Revelation*; while Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* was pub-

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lished in England the same year, and influenced the Hoosac-tonians greatly. The Senior Class at Williams in 1796, after reading Paine's *Age of Reason*, disputed the necessity of immediate manumission of slaves, and settled the question



Making white oak baskets at the George Adams cabin, on west bank of Broad Brook in White Oaks Glen, opposite the Chapel. Elsie Orcombright-Parsons, widow of Uncle-Abe-Parsons, stands on the left, and her sister, Sarah Orcombright-Adams, wife of George Adams, sits on the right.

affirmatively. Jedidiah Bushnell of the Class of 1797 said that the students suffered about as much in morals as in the theory of religion; a part of them being settled infidels advocating Volney philosophy.

Hopkinsianism was replaced at Williams by the reading of Doddridge's *Lectures* in 1797, since Hopkins's system was believed to be simply a revision of Edwards's *Divine Revelation*, which had called forth universal controversy among

Separate churches. Whittier in his Essay, described Hopkinsianism as "a system which reduced the doctrines of the Reformation to an ingenious and scholastic form, and had the merit of bringing those doctrines to the test of reason and philosophy." It proved the "ultra-reaffirmation of Calvinism against a growing Arminianism" and resulted in Unitarianism after the disestablishment of Congregationalism, in 1834.

A great awakening spread among the New England churches in 1734. The "Old Lights" followed Edwards's system and the "New Lights," or Strict Separates, adopted Whitefield's system of revivals. The Sunderland Church of Massachusetts on March 3, 1749, considered it unlawful and dangerous for members of the "Old Lights" to worship at the meetings of the Separates, who were excommunicated for renouncing communion of Christ's visible church.

As a result, in 1754, the elders and deacons of forty Separate Churches, including eight from Massachusetts, twenty-four from Connecticut, seven from Rhode Island, and one from Long Island met at Stonington, Conn., to consider Separatism or Strict Congregationalism. Among those present of the Westfield Church of Massachusetts may be mentioned the Rev. Jedidiah Dewey, and Deacons Samuel Robinson and John Montague of Hardwick and Sunderland churches, Mass.; Alexander Miller, Paul Park, Father Marshall, and Father Palmer of Plainfield, Preston, Canterbury, and Windsor Separate Churches of Connecticut, besides possible representatives of the Warren Society, Hopkinton Society, and Wesleyan-Embury or Methodist Episcopal Society, and of the Quaker, Shaking Quaker, and Mormon societies.

The great revival of Strict Congregationalism took place in Litchfield and Berkshire counties between 1798 and 1799. At that time there was but a single professor of religion

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among the students at Williams and this remained the condition until four converted Freshmen arrived in 1801. A revival took place at the First Church of Williamstown in 1805 and the Rev. Seth Swift added over a hundred members to his records before his death in February, 1807.

The First Church of Bennington was without a pastor at the time of the murder of the Indian, Stephen Gordon, by George Tibbett and George Whitney, which occurred on Saturday, August 8, 1802. A great revival took place in 1803, when "the degeneracy, depravity, infidelity, and heaven-daring wickedness" of the settlers of Hoosac and Walloomsac valleys was a subject of lamentation to missionary Read of Chelsea, Mass.

Mills's "Haystack Prayer-Meeting" would not have been heard of except for the cruelties of slavery and infidelism among the mocking Sophomores and Seniors at Williams. The fearless Juniors, Algernon Sidney Bailey and John Nelson, were driven to Mehitable Bardwell's home in 1805, opposite Simonds's River Bend Tavern, to hold prayers, and they paved the way for the advent of Samuel J. Mills, Jr., who was converted while at Morris Academy, Conn., in 1802, at the age of nineteen, and came to Williams in April, 1806, to prepare for the foreign missionary field. A revival took possession of the Junior Class later, and Mills, in company with James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Bryam Green, organized the first Saturday afternoon prayer-meeting. During August prayers were held in Sloan's Maple Grove, north of West College, or southwest beneath the Willows.

Bryam Green, half a century later, said that: "The rooms occupied by Mills and Loomis, Bartlett, and myself . . . the heat of the day . . . the shower that drove us from the grove to the haystack; the small number who attended the meeting—there being no one present from East College . . .

walking together from the stack to West College, are all circumstances which appear fresh and plain to my mind." The most significant feature of that first haystack meeting proved to be Mills's prayer, to carry the Gospel among the pagans of Asia, followed by his declaration that: "We can do it if we will."

The Saturday prayer-meetings continued in Sloan's Grove until late October and were often attended by other students, including John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Rufus Pomeroy, Samuel Ware, Edwin Dwight, Ezra Fisk, Luther Rice, and John Whittlesey. The three sons of Peter Schuyler Putnam, grandsons of Gen. Israel Putnam, were also members of Mills's Class of 1809, but there is no record that they were among the praying Juniors.

On September 7, 1808, the Sol Orions Society was organized in the northwest room on the first floor of East College. Later, James Richards and Ezra Fisk drew up a constitution and rechristened the society, *Unitas Fratrum*—United Brethren. This was signed by Mills, Richards, Fisk, John Seward, and Luther Rice. The object of the United Brethren was to secure through the persons of its members missions to the heathen. Mills and several others of his class in 1809, after their graduation, spent several months at Yale, Middlebury, Dartmouth, and Union colleges, promoting interest in Foreign Missions. Mills, on entering Andover Seminary in 1810, found Richards, Robbins, Hall, and other Williams students there, besides Adoniram Judson from Brown, Samuel Nott from Union, and Samuel Newell from Harvard, all of whom joined the Society of United Brethren later.

The United Brethren met with the Andover Fathers, Dr. Samuel Spring and Dr. Samuel Worcester, at Professor Stuart's home. A petition was prepared, signed by Mills, Judson, Nott, and Newell, and later presented before the General Association of Massachusetts at Bradford on June

27, 1810. This led to the organization of the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, consisting of five members from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut.

The timely mission legacy of Mary Norris, widow of the Andover Professor Norris, enabled the first five missionaries ordained at Salem Tabernacle in the autumn of 1811, including Hall, Judson, Nott, Newell, and Rice, to set sail on the barge *Caravan*, February 19, 1812, for Calcutta, Bombay. Mills withdrew his name in order that his friend Gordon Hall might precede him to foreign fields. The Andover Fathers also needed Mills to promote home missions and organize Bible Societies.

The Massachusetts and Connecticut missionary societies in 1812 engaged Mills and the Rev. J. T. Schemerhorn to travel through the Southwestern United States and found missionary societies. In July, 1814, Mills and the Rev. Daniel Smith were engaged to make a second tour between Lake Erie and the Gulf of Mexico. They arrived at New Orleans, just after the defeat of the British by General Jackson. In March, 1815, Mills reported that there were 80,000 families destitute of Bibles in the region, and that there was not a single Bible to be found for sale in New Orleans.

Rev. Samuel J. Mills, Jr., was ordained, June 21, 1815, at Newburyport, Mass. During the following two years he resided chiefly in Albany, Philadelphia, and Washington organizing Bible Societies. He founded the American Bible Society in New York City, May 8, 1816, which was followed by the building of the Bible House on the corner of Fourth Avenue and 8th Street. At the same time he started the first movement which led to the organization of New York City missions, and founded the foreign mission school at Cornwall, Conn. While Mills resided with the Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, Pastor of Newark Congregational Church of

New Jersey, he promoted the United Mission Society, and the Rev. Absalom Peters of Bennington Centre Church, Vt., was later elected first secretary in 1825. The United Missions are now merged in the American Board of Home Missions, supported by Congregationalists. Mills also organized the Parsippany School for training Negro missionaries, near Newark, N. J., under the synod of New York and New Jersey.

His last great work was that of the American Colonization Society, aided by Dr. Finley at Washington, D. C., on January 1, 1817. Samuel J. Mills, Jr., and Prof. Ebenezer Burgess of the University of Vermont were chosen to explore the coast of Africa and establish a colony. Upon setting sail for England, November 16, 1817, Mills said: "We go to make freemen of slaves. . . . We go to lay the foundation of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa."

After a conference with the London Colonization Society, founded in 1792, Mills and Burgess set sail, February 2, 1818, and arrived at the Sierra Leone Colony, March 12th. That settlement consisted of a thousand Negro slaves, who had been given their freedom and transported from Nova Scotia to Africa. The American Colony was located under the Liberian Government, and Mills and Burgess received a slave-chain taken from the neck of a captive as a token of gratitude from the Government. They set sail on the frigate *Success* for New York, May 22, 1818. Mills, however, took cold and died, June 16th. He was buried at sea, and thus closed his brief yet heroic religious career. Professor Burgess said of him: "He was no bigot. He silently communed with the Baptist, prayed with the Methodist, loved the Moravian, and praised the Friend."

Of the five Juniors of the first "haystack prayer-meeting" of August, 1806, Harvey Loomis championed Home Missions.

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He founded the First Church of Bangor in the Maine Woods, during 1821. James Richards proved to be the only member to become a foreign missionary. He set sail for Ceylon in October, 1815, where he died seven years later. Among the first five missionaries, Hall, Judson, Nott, Newell, and Rice, who set sail for Calcutta in 1812, Adoniram Judson and Rice became Baptists, and joined the Serampore Baptist Colony, founded by Corey and Thomas of London. Newell, Nott, and Hall remained Congregationalists and succeeded in founding missions at Ceylon, Bombay, and Hawaii. Judson died in April, 1850, at sea, where he was buried. He was the most successful of the pioneer missionaries, and his youngest son, the Rev. Edward Judson of the Judson Memorial Baptist Church of New York, is among the successful missionaries of Greater New York to-day.

During 1815, the foreign missionary societies of Europe and America united and established an institute at Basel, Switzerland, for the education of missionaries. In 1900, 381 missionaries and 1190 native teachers had been trained at Basel. The British Bible Society was organized in 1804; and the Netherland, Scottish, Berlin, and American Societies organized later, distributed Bibles printed in 427 different dialects among the missionaries and native teachers.

Williams College as the Alma Mater of Samuel J. Mills, Jr., "Father of American Foreign Missions," was "surrounded with peculiar consecration" to the Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin in 1821, when he accepted the Presidency of the College. Dr. Cox said in the *Evangelist Magazine*, August 14, 1856, that Mills and his labors was President Griffin's theme in private and public. At Andover Seminary, Mills's name became one of religious power. Thirty-nine of the seventy-one members of the Society of United Brethren in 1837 had given their services either to home or foreign mission fields.

During October, 1825, seventy-five of the eighty-five students at Williams believed themselves Christians. Prof. Albert Hopkins records later that an influx of impiety followed, induced through the arrival of several men of corrupt principles and dissolute life, spoiled before coming. They were fitted only to taint and corrupt the moral atmosphere of the college, and the Bible was stolen from the desk and worse than burnt.

The Anti-Slavery Society and Temperance Society were both organized at Williams during 1827. An ode, *To the Liberated Slave*,¹ written by one of the students, appeared in *The American Advocate*, July 4, 1827. Between 1826 and 1828, William Lloyd Garrison published *The Free Press of Newburyport*, Mass., and *The Journal of the Times* at Bennington, Vt., advocating abolition of slavery.

Home missions in English Hoosac began in 1829, when Prof. Albert Hopkins and Tutor Simeon Calhoun held prayer-meetings in the district schoolhouses of White Oaks, and among the fugitive slaves who had intermarried with the degenerated settlers of the region. During 1832, the Rev. Mr. Beman lead a revival in Williamstown and aroused the students to a higher religious plane. Professor Hopkins later organized the Noon Prayer-Meeting, of which Dr. John Bascom said that it was the most firm, persistent, and steadily influential means of religious life that he had ever had occasion to observe. Similar services were subsequently adopted in other colleges throughout the world.

The site of Mills's "haystack prayer-meeting" meanwhile had been lost sight of. On April 26, 1852, Prof. Albert Hopkins received a letter from a Baptist layman visiting South Williamstown. He enclosed a gold dollar toward marking the site with a cedar stake. During the spring of 1855, the venerable Bryam Green, the only surviving mem-

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 484-5.

ber of the original five haystack students, arrived in Williamstown and marked the site of the historic haystack with a stake, in company with Albert Hopkins and Arthur Latham Perry. The Williams Alumni Society purchased the Whitman farm, including Sloan's Maple Grove. Ten acres surrounding the site of the haystack was set apart as Mills's Park and beautified by Prof. Albert Hopkins, and the student members of the Landscape Garden Association.

A real haystack was restored to the site of Mills's prayer-meeting at the semi-centennial in 1856. Dr. Cox said: The celebration presented a melange of jubilation, so various, so spicy, so rich, so complete, so augmenting in its current to the close, that old men said with wonder and delight: "We never saw the like!" David Dudley Field rendered the opening address which was followed by Prof. Albert Hopkins's oration on the Birth of American and Home Missions. Gov. George N. Briggs of Massachusetts offered a short address. His address was followed by the reading of a report of Secretary Rufus Anderson,¹ of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Anderson said:

We are met in the New World. The historical events we commemorate occurred within the memory of some of us. Nevertheless, they are important, and have and will have a place on the historic page. And they make this, rather than any and all other places, the Antioch of the Western hemisphere. . . . Here the Holy Ghost made the visible separations of men in this country for foreign work whereto he had called them.

The odd Haystack Monument was erected in 1867. It was a gift of Senator Harvey Rice of Cleveland, O., a member of Mark Hopkins Class of 1824. He was born in Conway, Mass., and became the "Father of Public School System of

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 369-70.

Ohio." At the dedication of the monument, President Hopkins said: "For once in the history of the world a prayer-meeting is commemorated by a monument. . . . Not only was a prayer-meeting the birthplace but the cradle of foreign missions, and the hands that rocked that cradle ruled the world."

Owing to the bigotry of the Protestant English Congregational and Dutch Reformed churches of Hoosac Valley, much prejudice prevailed against the bigotry of the Irish and French Roman Catholic missions. Father McGilligan of Albany Roman Catholic parish was the first to visit Hoosac Valley in 1818. The parish in 1839, under the Rev. Father J. B. Daly, consisted of western Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, north to the Hudson-Champlain divide.

The first mass of the Roman Catholic Church celebrated in Hoosac Valley took place at Bennington about 1830. Old St. Francis De Sales Irish Church was dedicated in 1854, and the present St. Francis De Sales Cathedral was opened in 1889. The French Roman Catholic Chapel of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was organized in 1880.

On the lower and in central Hoosac, mass was celebrated at Hoosac Falls in 1834, followed by the dedication of St. Mary's Church in 1851. The Augustian Fathers built the present church in 1871, with a branch mission chapel at Buskirk Bridge. Mass was celebrated at Schaghticoke in 1835 and St. John's Catholic Church was dedicated in 1842 with missions in Valley Falls and Johnsonville of Pitts-town. St. Patrick's Church was founded in Old Cambridge in 1839.

Mass was celebrated on the upper Hoosac in the Union above North Adams during 1847, and St. Francis Irish Catholic Church was dedicated in 1869, with branch mission chapels in Adams, Williamstown, and Greylock. The

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French Catholic Cathedral, Notre Dame, was organized in 1871 and dedicated in 1888, with branch mission chapels in Adams and Williamstown. St. Stanislaus Kodska's Polish Catholic Church was recently organized at Adams and the Russian Jewish Synagogue at North Adams in 1892, with branches of the latter at Hoosac Falls and Bennington. To-day the mingling chimes of the progressive creeds of Christendom are heard echoing Peace and Good Will through the Valley of Mingling Waters.

Christ's Church at White Oaks is connected with Williams College home missions. It was founded by Prof. Albert Hopkins, February 5, 1865, and dedicated, October 25, 1866. The beautifying of the grounds about White Oaks Chapel, together with the care of Mission Park fell to Dr. John Bascom after the death of Albert Hopkins. The Williams College Cemetery in Mission Park contains the tombs and memorial monuments of several presidents, including Edward Dorr Griffin, Paul Ansel Chadbourne, Mark Hopkins, and Henry Hopkins; besides several professors: Albert Hopkins, Sanborn Tenny, Arthur Latham Perry, Cyrus Dodd, Luther Dana Woodbridge, and others. The grave of Edward Payson Hopkins, the only child of Prof. Albert Hopkins, who fell during the Battle of Ashland, Virginia, while serving under General Sheridan, lies near his parents. Dr. John Bascom says of Albert Hopkins: "Wherever else the Alumni of Williams College may wander for great men, their eyes will turn lovingly to him as their type of Christian Manhood."

The greatest event between the semi-centennial in 1856 and the centennial of foreign missions in 1906 was the Civil War. The first company to answer President Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers on April 14, 1861 proved to be one composed of 780 Green Mountain Boys under Col. John W. Phelps and Lieut.-Col. Peter T. Washburn. They

arrived at Fortress Monroe, Va., May 13th, followed by five other volunteer Vermont regiments on May 11th. These regiments figured in the battles of Big Bethel, June 10th, and Bull Run, July 21st. Gen. George J. Stannard of the 2d Vermont Brigade repulsed one of the severest charges in the Battle of Gettysburg. A monument of Vermont granite now marks the site of Stannard's Victory. The 17th Vermont Regiment during the Carnage of the Wilderness also faced a bloody battle each day until the Fall of Richmond, April 3, 1865, and the final surrender of General Lee to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, April 9th, following. Historian Benedict¹ asserts that: "The brilliancy and service rendered by the Green Mountain Boys is denied by no student of history." Impartial judges admit it to be remarkable that troops of one State, constituting but an eighteenth part of the Northern Army, should have had a leading part in all the decisive battles of the Civil War.

At the Centennial of American Foreign Missions, celebrated in October, 1906, the Rev. John Hopkins Denison said: "There is sweeping over the world to-day a great wave of international justice. No longer is the slave trade permitted to be carried on unmolested in any part of the world."

A century and a half has passed since the burning of the St. Francis Indian town by Col. Robert Rogers in Canada during 1759. The Mahican and Mohawk warriors of the East are now merged with the Sioux Nation, comprising 30,000 Indians. Their annual convocations are headed by native priests of the Romanist, Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian missions, followed by 16,000 Christian Sioux, scattered over a territory of six hundred miles in extent.

To-day the royal Mahican warriors of Stockbridge live in Wisconsin; the Hoosacs, including the Schaghticoques and St. Francis kindred, are in Nebraska and the Dakotas

¹ *Vermont in the Civil War.*



*The Church of Christ, a Home Mission Chapel, dedicated by Prof. Albert Hopkins, October 25, 1866, at
White Oaks in Broad Brook Glen, Williamstown, Massachusetts.*

mingling with their old Mingo enemies of the Huron-Mohawk Confederacy. Over 13,000 are attracted by the shining images and ritual of the Romanist and Episcopal missions, while 3000 are members of the Congregational and Presbyterian missions. Each squaw of the latter churches donates her annual dollar from her moccasin work, and requests that part be spent for the education of the "long-haired heathen" of China.

According to statistics, in 1871 there were 237,000 Indians in America; in 1890 there were 175,000; and in 1905 they had decreased to 150,000, although to-day there is a steady increase of the vanishing race on their reservations.

At the Centennial celebration of the Birth of American Foreign Missions, the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis said:

It is not merely an American event, but meetings commemorative of the Birth of Missions are being held in the great cities all over the world. . . . Great events, have taken place in the political life in every country within the century. . . . Not less than 50,000,000 souls have been lifted from slavery and serfdom. One of the sublimest movements in the world rose in Williamstown, on the Hoosac in 1806, celebrated to-day on five continents.

The Rev. Edward Judson, the youngest son of the missionary Adoniram Judson stated that: "A nation shall be converted in a day" when the Empire of China accepts Christianity. A century of missions¹ becomes a vast subject

¹ The Rev. J. S. Dennis in a *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, published in 1900, included both Romanist and Protestant societies and reported as follows: "American Continent 128; Great Britain and Ireland 154; Denmark 4; Finland 2; France 6; Germany 24; Holland 22; Norway 10; Sweden 10; Switzerland 4; Asia 117; Australasia and Oceania 35; Africa 42; making a total of 558 mission societies, represented by 15,000 missionaries and 77,000 native teachers. In 1900, the adherents of the Protestant missions in America, including Greenland and West Indies, was 1,115,000; Asia, inclusive of Japan

when traced to Mills's Haystack Prayer-meeting. Around the hallowed haystack shrine have assembled missionaries bearing the cross of all nations, to offer praise for the birth of foreign missions.

A shout of joy from the redeemed is sent;
Ten thousand hamlets swell the hymn of thanks;

A glory clothes the land from sea to sea,
For the great world and all its coasts are free.¹

and Malaysia, 1,700,000; Africa, including Madagascar, 1,000,000; Australasia and Oceania, 300,000. Among the total 4,115,000 adherents were recorded 1,318,000 communicants."

¹ Bryant, *Death of Slavery*, 1866.

CHAPTER XXII

INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE DURING STAGE-COACH DAYS

1774-1874

Nor will bad news, revolutions, and anarchy be able to obliterate that love of prosperity and that spirit of enterprise which seem to be the distinctive characteristics of the American race.—DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Union Américaine*.

President Washington's Horseback Ride to Bennington—Steamboat Navigation—Stone Post Road and First Stage-Coaches—Industrial Independence—Federal Constitution—Flax, Cotton, Woollen, Iron, and Mechanical Industries—Passing of Stage-Coach and Mountain Inns.

THE mode of travel through Hoosac Valley during the good old manorial days was on horseback or springless wagon and ox-sled. The roads led over the rough hills and were blocked in the lowlands by gates placed at intervals, until long after the opening of the Stone Post Road between Albany and Bennington in 1791.

President George Washington and Congressman William Smith, on August 30, 1790, mounted on horseback, rode from New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Bennington Centre to consult with Gov. Moses Robinson about Vermont's final admittance to the Federal Union. They breakfasted at Gen. Samuel Sloan's Tavern in South Williamstown, Mass., and as they rode over Stone Hill, they beheld a picturesque view of the tower of the Free School of Williamstown in the distance. Congressman Smith in a letter published a century later in the *New York Evening Post* described their romantic ride beneath the "Weeping Rocks," overhanging the Hoosac River in the Pownal intervale of Vermont. As

they ascended the Hill Road to Pownal Centre, they were enchanted with the scene of the rich lowlands below them in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs. Dr. John Bascom of



The Weeping Rock Road along the ancient Hoosac and Mohawk War-Trail in Pownal Pass, near Lovatt's Burial-ground.

Williams College considers the scene the most beautiful in New England to-day.

The President's party was welcomed at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's mansion at Bennington Centre on Mount Anthony Road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, and their host later conducted them to Governor Robinson's home. Congressman Smith considered Bennington Centre a very pretty village, located at the foot of a high hill in the shape of a cone. The hill referred to is Mount Anthony, still covered with maple trees, and he was charmed with the aspect of the fertile Walloomsac meadowlands.

On September 7th, the Presidential party left New Lebanon Springs in a springless wagon, bound for Albany by way of Kinderhook Road, through Lake Queechy's sandy country, made famous by Susan Warner's *Queechy*; and on Thursday, September 9th, set sail on an Albany sloop for New York, although, owing to contrary winds and tides, they did not reach that City until six days later.

Steamboats were perfected by slow process after John Fitch's invention, exhibited at Philadelphia in 1787. James Rumsey's model was exhibited the same year on the Potomac River; and Samuel Morey of Fairlee, Vt., successfully operated his boat on the Connecticut and on Morey Lake in 1795. Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston were in Europe studying steam navigation in 1795. They later studied Morey's steamboat model, and in 1807, Fulton built and successfully operated the *Clermont*, the first steamboat on the Hudson.

The Stone Post Road between Albany and Bennington Centre over the Pittstown Hills was formally opened, March 25, 1791, on the thirtieth anniversary of the settlement of Bennington. This line proved to be the first stretch of macadamized road built in this country, and was followed by several companies, which organized to construct turnpikes and toll-bridges in all directions from Albany.

The Albany and Northampton Turnpike, leading eastward over Cherry Plains of Rensselaerwyck through Berlin Pass to Williamstown, thence over the Hoosac Mountain to the Connecticut Valley, was completed in November, 1793. During 1798, the rattling U. S. Mail wagon and tin horn delivery began regular trips through Williamstown. During January, 1799, the Great Western Turnpike Company was incorporated and empowered to build stone roads from Albany up the Hudson and Mohawk valleys to Schuylerville, Whitehall, and Schenectady. In 1820, Congress authorized the passenger stage-coach to convey the U. S.

Mail between Albany, Bennington, Williamstown, and Boston.

Inventive geniuses set to work about 1768 to turn out machinery to manufacture linen, woollen goods, and implements for agriculture in the Colonies. During July, 1774,



The Old Stone Post Road east of White House Bridge near Hoosac Four Corners, New York. This stretch of road is mentioned in Owen Wister's famous tale of "The Virginians."

Dr. Jacob Meack, Robert Hawkins, and Elisha Baker of Williamstown were chosen delegates to attend the Berkshire County Congress at Old Stockbridge to consider the industrial independence of British manufactures.

Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Niles of Connecticut during 1775 invented machinery for the manufacture of wire from bar iron by water power. Wire was used to make wool-cards and was one of the forbidden articles of manufacture in the

American Colonies. The Hartford Legislature, however, voted young Niles, a loan of £100 for a term of years without interest, and encouraged his manufactures until 1785, after which he located on his West Fairlee farm in Vermont.

Patroon Philip Schuyler in 1768 opened a line of transportation between Schuylerville Mills and Albany. He engaged several hundred men the year round at mills, on boats, and Fish Creek weirs. Myriads of herring swarmed up to Lake Saratoga in the spring, and shad and sturgeon were abundant in the Hudson. The Hoosac farmers made annual excursions to Fish Creek and with the aid of scoop-nets literally loaded their wagons with enough herring to salt down a year's supply.

Every farmer up to the opening of the War of 1812 also sowed a small flax-field a few rods square and produced his household linen. The flax was allowed to rot slightly in the field, after which it was prepared by a hand-break, or swingle-knife, for the hetchel. This rough machine separated the tow from the fine flax, the latter being wound on a distaff and spun into threads on the little wheel, and the former was spun into warp and tow on the large wheel used for men's clothing and sacking for grain.

Philip Schuyler engaged several Scotch-Irish artisans from Glasgow, Londonderry, and Dublin in his famous linen-mill at Schuylerville, and described the mechanical arts of the machinery employed, in a paper read before the Society for the Promotion of Arts in America. According to Lossing's *Life of Philip Schuyler*, he was awarded a medal and a vote of thanks for executing so useful a design in the Province. After the Declaration of Independence of the United States, July 4, 1776, premiums were offered for the best woollen cloth manufactured in this country. The first prize of \$40 was won by Scott Woodward of Old Cambridge, N. Y.;

and the second prize of \$35 was awarded to Adam Cleveland of Salem, N. Y.

After the close of the Revolution in 1783, five mill-centres rose about the sites of the old forts in Hoosac Valley: at Hart's Falls in Schaghticoke; at Pumpkin Hook in Cambridge; at Falls Quequick, now Hoosac Falls, N. Y.; at Bennington on the upper Walloomsac in Vermont; at North Adams and Adams on the upper Hoosac in Massachusetts.

Several proprietors of the upper Hoosac and Walloomsac towns pushed down the Valley to Hoosac, Cambridge, Schaghticoke, Mechanicsville, Lansingburgh, and Cohoes mill-centres. Jethro Wood, son of the New Bedford Quaker, Isaac Wood of White Creek, patented the first iron mould-board plough in this country, which was later manufactured by his kinsman, Walter Abbott Wood, at Hoosac Falls. The McNamaras' shop, known as March's factory on the Upper Falls of the Walloomsac, turned out scythes and grain-cradles, until the time when Walter Abbott Wood manufactured mowing and reaping machines, after which the scythe mill was converted into Orr's wall-paper mill.

In Old Cambridge, at an early day, John Rhodes opened the first clothing-mill; Stephen Kellogg ran a flax-mill; Leonard Darby, a gun-shop; Glass, a clock and comb factory; John Allen, a hat factory; Sylvanus Tabor, a mitten factory; Paul Cornell, George Mann, Noah and Robert Wilcox all operated trip-hammers and turned out scythes and agricultural implements; Edward Hurd manufactured axes; Aaron Vail ran a rope factory; Garner Wilkinson turned out scythe-snaths and handles; and Edward Aiken later opened a wagon and coach factory.

At the opening of 1800 an extensive wheat and flax industry was carried on in Cambridge by Frank Crocker. He also opened a distillery for the manufacture of brandy at Pumpkin Hook, and Jacob and Benjamin Merritt became

the leading merchants near the Forks of White Creek Road. Their annual trade in wheat, hauled to Troy warehouses, netted them \$50,000. Palmer and Shrive ran a flax-mill near St. Croix Bridge, and other mills were built in Nepimore and Mapleton hamlets, and in the Hoosac and Little Hoosac passes of Pownal, Petersburg, and Berlin.

The Tomhannac and Owl Kill intervals of Pittstown and Cambridge, owing to the olive shale soil, produced a rich yield of flax, rye, and flower seeds. In an analysis of the Pittstown clay soil is found an excess of potash mica. Rye and flax straw contains about $22\frac{50}{100}\%$ potash. The natural affinity of the soil provided flax enough to keep seventeen flax-mills busy until the introduction of the cotton industry in 1810, and the region is famous for its rye fields, flower seed, and gladiolus bulb culture to-day. The fine grade of red, brown, yellow, and purple ochres of the olive shale region of Hoosac Lake District, led to the founding of the Grafton paint and putty mills about half a century ago.

The vegetable and flower-seed culture of Old Cambridge N. Y., was founded between 1816 and 1836 by Simeon Crosby and Sons, who in 1844 sold their interest to R. Niles Rice and Son, now one of the largest business enterprises in the Owl Kill Valley. The famous gladiolus fields of Meadowvale Farm in Berlin, N. Y., on the upper Little Hoosac were established by Arthur Cowee about fifteen years ago. To-day over 15,000 varieties of this twentieth-century flower are displayed in Cowee's hundred-acre fields, which are considered the finest in the world.

The Hart's Falls mill-centre in Schaghticoke, N. Y., was founded before the opening of 1800 by the miller, Hart, near the "Big-Eddy." The Boston capitalists, Benjamin and Charles Joy, opened a linen-duck mill, wool-carding and clothing manufactory on the north bank of the "Big-Eddy" of the Hoosac in 1800. Four years later, they advertised



Pownal Village in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains. The picturesque intervalle was beheld by President George Washington and Congressman William Smith during their horseback ride to Bennington Centre, August 30, 1790.

a machine for picking, greasing, and carding wool at eight cents a pound. The Lewis Pickett paper-mill subsequently occupied the site of Joy's mills. On the south bank of the "Big-Eddy," below the present highway bridge, George Brown and his son-in-law, Giles Slocum, built a stone machine-shop sometime previous to 1800.

The first four cotton-mills operated in this country were



The Seed Works of Cambridge, New York, Owl Kill Valley, owned by Jerome B. Rice Seed Company.

built in Hoosac Valley before the War of 1812. During 1810, Brown and Slocum converted their stone machine-shop at Schaghticoke into Congdon's cotton-mill. The ruined walls of the cotton-mill were blasted away during the construction of the present dam above the "Big-Eddy" on the Hoosac in 1908.

Gordon's cotton-mill on the Upper Falls of the Walloom-sac was built a few months after Congdon's cotton-mill, his machinery being made by Leonard Darby in his gun-shop at Pumpkin Hook in White Creek, N. Y. The "Old

Brick Cotton-Mill" in North Adams, Mass., and the "Old Doty Cotton-Mill" in North Bennington, Vt., were built in 1811. The Lowell cotton-mill in Massachusetts was the fifth in this country. The machinery was made by the machinist, Talbot, who learned his trade at Leonard Darby's Pumpkin Hook gun-shop in White Creek, N. Y. Talbot later became Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts.

At Hart's Falls in Schaghticoke, N. Y., in 1816, Waddell and Shepherd built their large cotton-mill on the south bank of the "Big-Eddy"; and about the same time Rensselaer's woollen- and cotton-mills were erected on the north bank of the "Big-Eddy" below the site of the present cable-mill. They burned in 1836. In Old Cambridge, N. Y., the miller, Aiken, converted his frame grist-mill into the Washington County cotton-mill for the manufacture of sheeting; Gordon's cotton- and woollen-mills on the Upper Falls of the Walloomsac were converted about 1869 into Stephen and Thompson wall-paper factory. On the Lower Falls of the Walloomsac McNamara operated the woollen and flannel-mills, subsequently known as Burnham's "Empire Shawl-Mills." Spaulding, during the Civil War, turned out uniforms for the Union soldiers, and later the plant became Carpenter's woollen-mill. It burned in 1876.

The historic St. Croix flouring-mill, of Dutch Hoosac, built by the Tory, Van Schaick, in 1776, was owned by John Burck in 1876. It burned, October 24, 1896, and the ancient mill-stone, grinding wheat and corn in August, 1777, still lies in ruins in the cellar of the present Dublin mill on its site.

The finest mill-power in New England is found on the upper Hoosac and Walloomsac. The Ashawaghsac¹—South Branch of the Hoosac—rises on Allen Brook in southern Lanesboro, Mass., originally known as Richfield in 1742; set-

¹See Note 1, at end of volume.

tled by Englishmen from Framingham, Eng.; and later known as Framingham—the stranger's home—until incorporated Lanesboro in Governor Bernard's honor to the wife of the Earl of Lanesborough, in 1760. The town is famous for its glass-sand, for the Berkshire Glass Works founded in 1853, and for "Constitution Hill"—the home of plain Jonathan Smith, whose convincing speech brought about the adoption of the Federal Constitution at the Massachusetts Convention in 1788. The town is also the birthplace of Henry Shaw, the philosophical humorist, "Josh Billings," whose grave is marked in the village cemetery. Dalton, the neighboring town, is famous for its century-old paper-mills. All the paper used to-day in the production of United States currency is manufactured in that town.

Cheshire, lying between Lanesboro and Adams, was settled by Warwickshire men from England in 1766, including John Tibbits from Warwick, R. I., father of Senator George Tibbits of Hoosac, N. Y., the promoter of the famous Erie Canal and Hoosac Tunnel Railroad. Most of the Providence, Warwick, and Kingston Quakers from Rhode Island who settled in Lanesboro and Cheshire, later pushed on to Adams, Williamstown, Hoosac, Cambridge, and Schaghticoke. Cheshire in 1801 produced 200,000 pounds of cheese and became famous for the manufacture of the "Big Cheese" shipped to President Thomas Jefferson by the Federalists. The town is also noted for its glass-sand, lime-kilns, and iron-ore.

The North Adams mill-centre began in 1793 when Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove of Providence, R. I., built a grist-mill and saw-mill on the site of Ephraim Williams's mills, above the junction of the Ashawaghsac with the Mayoonsac.¹ At that time Captain Colgrove prophesied that "Slab City"—now North Adams would become the metropolis of the

¹ See Note I, at end of volume.

Hoosac Valley. The following year the blacksmith, Joseph Darby, from Salisbury, Conn., opened a shop two rods below the Notch Brook Bridge in Braytonville. He introduced the first trip-hammer in English Hoosac, and hauled his wrought iron from Connecticut until iron-ore was mined at the foot of Old Greylock and smelted at Beckley's furnace on Furnace Hill. Darby did a thriving business, manufacturing axes, saws, scythes, hoes, steel-yards, cow-bells, and sheep-bells for migrating settlers passing over Raven Rock Road through the Hoosac Pass to Lake Champlain and thence to Ohio Valley. Captain Colgrove during 1795 opened the second blacksmith shop in the town near his Ashawagsac Mills.

During 1792, David Estes, another machinist from Rhode Island, purchased mill-lot 25, the site of the Mayoonsac saw-mill of 1756, for \$150. He hauled his wrought iron and tools in a one-horse wagon and manufactured nails. He held a large sale of shingle nails at seventeen cents a pound between North Adams, Greenfield, and Brattleboro.

Captain Colgrove and his brother-in-law, Elisha Brown, in 1801 introduced machinery for carding wool, cloth-fulling, and dressing in their two-storied grist-mill, now the site of the Phoenix Grist-Mill. At the same time David Estes built a wool-carding and cloth-dressing mill on his lot and established competition with Colgrove and Brown. Roger Wing was among the first cloth-dressers engaged in the town and subsequently opened a clothing store in the Old Black Tavern block. The cloth-dressing business began at the same time in central Hoosac. The machinist, Seth Parsons of Falls Quequick, now Hoosac Falls, invented a shearing-machine which accomplished the work of ten men. He sold it for \$30 and Colgrove and Brown introduced it in their North Adams mill.

The manufacture of linseed-oil from flax-seed was begun

simultaneously at Falls Quequick, N. Y., by Jehiel Fox; at North Adams, Mass., by Colgrove and Brown; and at Bennington, Vt., by Olin and Calvin. The Bennington oil-mill was torn down in 1894 to make room for Rockwood's knitting-mill. The latter town was a famous market for all the flax-seed raised in Hoosac and Cambridge. The linseed-oil and oil-cake were hauled over the Green Mountains and thence shipped down the Connecticut to Boston and Hartford. Colgrove and Brown hauled their North Adams products by four-horse teams to Troy, and it was shipped to Albany and New York.

The historic "Brick Cotton Factory" of North Adams was built in 1811 by the first corporation in Hoosac Valley, including Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove, Col. John Waterman from Williamstown, Benjamin Sibley, and others. It stood at the foot of Centre Street, on the west side of Marshall Street, and was burned in 1860. Between 1790 and the opening of the Civil War in 1860, the growth of cotton in the United States increased from 250,000 to 2,000,000,000 pounds annually. Thousands of bales were shipped to the Troy warehouses and hauled by four-horse teams to Schaghticoke, Hoosac, Bennington, and North Adams. The pioneer cotton industry of Adams was established in 1826 by Daniel Anthony, the father of the late Susan B. Anthony. His cotton-mill contained twenty-six looms, operated until his removal to Rochester, N. Y., about 1845.

The iron furnaces of North Adams were among the pioneer works of the country, including Beckley's furnace on the east bank of Ashawagsac, and another on Furnace Hill. Ore was mined at the foot of Greylock from which the plates of the original iron-clad *Monitor* were made. During 1799, Dickinson and Brown operated an iron forge between Eagle Street Bridge and Union Bridge; and Otis Hodge later operated an iron furnace on the site of the Windsor Print

Works. Giles Tinker in 1811 opened a machine-shop in the "Old Yellow Building," near Black Tavern.

The pioneer machinists in this country include in their order the names of George Brown and Giles Slocum at Hart's Falls in Schaghticoke; Stephen Kellogg and Leonard Darby at Pumpkin Hook in White Creek; Joseph Dorr, Seth Parsons, Joseph Gordon, and Walter Abbott Wood at Hoosac Falls in Hoosac, N. Y.; George Keith, Moses Sage, and Olin Scott at Bennington Vt.; Joseph Darby, David Estes, Giles Tinker, and James Hunter, Sr., at North Adams, Mass. The Scotchman, Joseph Gordon from Glasgow, located on the lower Hoosac, and Giles Tinker on upper Hoosac, were the first artisans to introduce the mechanical arts of the power-loom for the manufacture of cloth in this country. The latter in March, 1822, made the first twenty power-loom for the manufacture of satinete at Blackington's mill, and the first twenty power-loom for printing wide print cloth at Brayton's mill in North Adams in 1831.

The iron works on the upper Walloomsac, the first in Vermont, were founded by Moses Sage, who resided at "Sage's City," now North Bennington, in 1776. Sage's forges were located on Furnace Brook and ore was mined at the foot of Shaftsbury Mountain. That mine soon "petered out" and another was located in Captain Shields's District, east of Bennington, partly in Woodford. During President Thomas Jefferson's administration, several iron forges were built in Woodford Hollow for smelting bars of iron for the manufacture of gun-boat anchors for the United States Navy. Both Presidents Jefferson and Madison visited Governor Robinson at Bennington Centre during their terms of office.

Moses Sage and his son-in-law, Giles Olin, sold their interest in their iron works to Thomas W. Trenor from Dublin, Ireland, who arrived in Bennington in 1811. Moses Sage

later moved to Pittsburgh, where he founded the first blast furnace in western Pennsylvania. The first iron forge in this country, and possibly in the world, for the manufacture of nails, was built in 1775 on Mill Street in Bennington by George Keith, who doubtless mined his own iron ore. Several of Keith's nails are still to be seen in the clap-boards on the colonial houses in the valley.

The "Old Doty Cotton-Mill" of "Sage's City" occupied the site of the "E. Z." waist-mills at North Bennington. Deacon Stephen Hinsdill built a cotton-mill at Hinsdillville previous to 1835, and Truman Estes's "Old Stone Cotton Mill" of 1840 is now occupied by Cushman's furniture factory.

The Falls Quequick became a mill-centre in 1784. Joseph Dorr leased 280 acres of the patroon, Barnardus Bratt, on the north bank of the Falls, and opened wool-carding, cloth-dressing, flax-mill, cider-distillery, and blacksmith-shop; and Calvin ran a grist-mill and Fox a linseed-oil mill. Joseph Gordon in 1820 manufactured cotton at Schaghticoke in a humble way and sold his goods from a wagon in the streets of Troy. He later built the four-storied Caledonia Cotton Factory of brick, on the south bank of Falls Quequick, and equipped it with one hundred and fifty-four looms, containing seven thousand spindles. He employed fifty men and turned out 30,000 yards weekly. In 1826, he became a cripple through a fall, and was forced to sell his mill to the Crocker, Knickerbacker, House, and Merritt Corporation, which ran the business until 1868.

The Tremont Cotton-Mill was founded eight years after Gordon's Caledonia Mill, on the north side of Falls Quequick by the capitalist, Benedict. He employed seventy hands and produced 25,000 yards weekly. The Tremont Mill was subsequently converted into Walter Abbott Wood's mowing and reaping machine-shops, which were destroyed by fire in 1860.



Old Continental Road, left of the Poplars, south of Bennington Centre, over which the Fighting Parson, Thomas Allen, and Col. Benjamin Simonds' Berkshire Boys marched to General Stark's Walloomsac Camp, August 15, 1777, before the Battle of Bennington.

Falls Quequick hamlet was incorporated by fifty voters as the village of Hoosac Falls in 1827. Gordon's Caledonia Mill became the centre of the village, which contained two miles of streets, lined by thirty-six dwellings and the population of which was two hundred inhabitants. The post-office occupied Postmaster Seth Parsons's machine-shop.

The elaborate stage-coaches, drawn by six and eight spirited horses, between 1832 and 1874 made the journey from Boston to Albany over the Stone Post Road in forty-eight hours. Relays of horses were made along the line between Capt. Moses Rice's Charlemont Inn on Hoosac Mountain, Alphine Smith's North Adams House, Walloom-sac Inn at Bennington Centre, and Finney's Tavern on Pitts-town Plains, before pulling up at the Thorpe and Sprague stage office, on the corner of Broadway and State Street in Albany.

The Barnes stage office in Boston was located at the United States Tavern. Among the skilled drivers over the Hoosac Mountain may be mentioned "Jim" Stevens and "Al" Richardson, who became skilled in horsemanship during their novitiate in the White Mountains. According to the Rev. Washington Gladden in his history, *From the Hub to the Hudson*, 1872, "they made every horse do his part on the uphill stretches, coolly keeping them all in hand in the crooked descent, without swearing, shouting, or whipping."

Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his *American Note-book* during July, 1838, described a stage-coach ride from Pittsfield to the North Adams House. He observed the numerous factories along the Ashawaghsac, and was not unheedful of the girls who turned their faces from their tasks, and of their rude boarding-houses, adorned with bean-vines climbing about the front door steps.

The scene of Hawthorne's romance, *Ethan Brand*, was lo-

cated near Farnham's lime-kilns, at the base of Ragged Mountain, the footstool of the old chieftain Greylock, a short distance south of the city of North Adams. He describes the "snug and insulated" air of the "hollow vale," which, viewed from certain points, it would seem difficult to get out of without a climb over the mountain ridges. The old roads, however, wind away and accomplish the passage without ascending very high. Sometimes he heard the notes of a horn or bugle sounding afar among the passes of the mountains, announcing the coming of the stage-coach from Bennington, Greenfield, or Pittsfield.

Like a faint far echo that responds unto its own,
In a far off vale we hear the bugle moan;
And sweetly again comes back a dulcet tone.

The echoing bugle-horn is now replaced by the discordant clanging of the gongs of the electric cars, as they pass through the narrow valleys of the Taconac Mountains. The hospitable welcome of the landlords at the mountain inns lost some of its warmth with the close of the stage-coach days, after the opening of Hoosac Tunnel Railroad.

The English tourist, Daniel Pidgeon, in 1883, after a charming stage-coach ride of five miles from North Adams about the base of Old Greylock, arrived at Williamstown, whose academical village lies buried among the Hoosac highlands. He said: "There was not a single manufactory and hardly a retail shop in the village, whose pretty bungalows rose from the elm-shaded stretches of turf. . . . Its romantic situation, park-enfolded homes and peaceful atmosphere places Williamstown easily ahead of every other New England village for beauty."

CHAPTER XXIII

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS DURING THE HOOSAC TUNNEL ERA 1810-1910

No one can look on the fearless energy, the sturdy determination, the aptitude for local self-government, the versatile alacrity, and the unresisting spirit of enterprise which characterize the Anglo-Americans, without feeling that here he beholds the true elements of progressive might.

CREASY, *In the Thirteenth Decisive Battle of the World.*

Erie and Hoosac Canals—First Railroads—Hoosac Tunnel—Manufactures—Inventions—Wilson's Sewing-Machine—Wood's Mowing- and Reaping-Machines—Westinghouse's Air-Breaks—Electric Motors—Church Spires—School Towers—Factory Chimneys—Balloons—Gladiolus Fields.

AFTER the opening of the first iron and cotton industries in the Hoosac Valley, capitalists began to consider means of obtaining lines of transportation by canal over or a railroad tunnel under the "Forbidden Hoosac Mountain."

Chief among the canal and railroad magnates may be mentioned George Tibbits of Dutch Hoosac. He was elected Senator by the Federalist Party for the Eastern District of New York, during the office of Gov. De Witt Clinton between 1815 and 1817, and introduced the State System for financing the construction of Erie Canal. A legislative act was passed, adopting Tibbits's Bill, and signed by Governor Clinton, April 15, 1817. The first lock of Erie Canal was completed at Lockport by engineer Nathan Preston Stoddard, son of Parson Stoddard of the First Church of New Lebanon, N. Y., a lineal descendant of Col. John Stoddard of Fort Massachusetts fame.

A Board of Commissioners, including the Hon. Daniel Noble of Williamstown (chairman), William E. Brayton of North Adams, and the engineer, Loami Baldwin, of Boston, and four others, was appointed by the Legislature in July, 1825, to consider the survey for a canal over Hoosac Mountain. The opening of the Erie Canal took place on November 25, 1825, and the boat, *Seneca Chief*, conveyed the Governor's Council from Lockport to Albany. The Hoosac Canal Committee, headed by engineer Loami Baldwin, during the same month explored the headwaters of Hoosac Mountain, north of the portals of the Hoosac Tunnel. A route was surveyed by way of Worcester, Springfield, and Westfield rivers, and another by way of Fitchburgh, Miller, and Deerfield rivers. Each plan made North Adams a common centre. The latter survey was favored for the canal, although a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain was proposed as a more permanent line of transit.

Railroading was then in its infancy. The Mohawk and Hudson steam passenger line, chartered May 27, 1826, being the first in this country. It was opened between Albany and Waterford, September 24, 1831. Edward Everett, in a speech during 1827, said: "A system of internal improvements has commenced, which will have the effect, when a little further developed, of crowding within a few years the progress of generations."

The Albany Legislature passed an act, April 18, 1831, incorporating the Troy Turnpike and Railroad Company, with power to construct a railroad or turnpike from the city of Troy up Hoosac Valley to Bennington and Pownal as far as Massachusetts Line. George Tibbits was elected the foremost director in May, and on January 10, 1832, it was estimated that the cost of equipping the road with engines and cars would be \$450,000.

On January 12, 1833, all the directors, except George

Tibbits, voted to construct a turnpike instead of a railroad. He believed in the proposed Troy and Hoosac Tunnel Route to Boston, and in 1834 he personally engaged Prof. Amos Eaton and his students of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy to survey a railroad route to the base of Hoosac Mountain in North Adams. Mr. Tibbits, then a gentleman of seventy years, accompanied Eaton's students on foot, sharing the hardships of the expedition with them.

The Rensselaer, Saratoga, and Ballston Spa, Railroad was incorporated, April 14, 1833, under the directors: Pres. Richard P. Hart, John Knickerbacker, John House, Stephen Warren, William Pierce, James Cook, William Haight, and Joel Lee, and completed, October 8, 1835. The Western Railroad, now the Boston and Albany Line, extending from Schenectady by way of Waterford Union Toll-Bridge of the Hudson to Lansingburgh, was completed as far as Pittsfield in 1843, within twenty miles of North Adams.

The largest manufacturing companies of the upper Hoosac during the same year subscribed \$90,000 in stock toward building a branch line of twenty miles between North Adams and Pittsfield. In order to expedite the work, \$31,000 in cash was raised, after which the Western Railroad Company later completed and equipped the Pittsfield and North Adams line with engines and cars costing \$450,000. The road was opened during the annual Agricultural Fair and Cattle Show; and passenger, freight, and truck cars were pressed into service to accommodate the Berkshire crowds. It was a week famous in the annals of a century of progress in Hoosac Valley.

The Hoosac Tunnel¹ had its visionary birth, April 4, 1848, when the Legislature of Massachusetts incorporated the Greenfield and Hoosac Tunnel Railroad Company, with power to build a railroad to the Vermont State Line in

¹ Washington Gladden, *From the Hub to the Hudson*, 1872.



The Western Portal of Hoosac Tunnel Mountain, North Adams, Mass., through which Hoosac Tunnel was bored. Begun in 1856 and completed in 1876. It is one of the pioneer wonders of the world in tunnel engineering.

Pownal, and to connect with the Troy Railroad. Both of these companies were required to complete their surveys within two years, and to construct their roads within seven years from the date of their incorporation.

The Troy Railroad Company, in 1848, included Pres. Amos Briggs of Schaghticoke, George Mortimer Tibbits of Hoosac, son of the Hon. George Tibbits; John E. Wood, D. T. Vail, Daniel Robinson, C. N. Merritt, J. C. Heartt, E. T. Gale, Elias Johnson, I. B. Hart, and Stephen B. Warren of Troy; D. S. McNamara of North Hoosac, and Judge Levi Chandler Ball of Hoosac Falls. Work began on the line at "Bull's Head" farm in Troy, June 6, 1850.

The subscription books of the Greenfield and Hoosac Tunnel Railroad Company were, however, at the close of six years, in 1854, blank pages. A legislative act passed that year granted its credit to the company for a loan of \$2,000,000, and E. W. Sherrel and Co. contracted to build the road and tunnel. The State loan was granted under such conditions that the contractors made little progress. In 1856, H. Haupt and Co. were engaged to complete the railroad from Greenfield to Vermont Line for \$3,880,000. Headings and excavations began simultaneously at both the East and West Portals of Hoosac Mountain in 1856. The railroad between the West Portal and Vermont State Line was completed in 1858. Meanwhile a passenger stage-coach conveyed travellers over Hoosac Mountain to connect with Greenfield Railroad for Boston, until the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel in 1876.

The formative rocks at the base of Hoosac Mountain consist of soluble talc, schists, and limerock of the Taconac Range, which merge with the flinty quartzite nodules of the Green Mountain bed-rock. The Hoosac consists of two summits: the eastern crest, 2110 feet high, is about 1450 feet above the bed of Deerfield River; and the western brow,

2510 feet high, about 1750 feet above the Hoosac River. Between the summits flows Cold River through the town of Florida to the Deerfield River. The lowest elevation in the interval, on the line of the tunnel is about 800 feet above its highest grade.

The West Shaft, 2500 feet east of the Western Portal, was sunk 318 feet, and Central Shaft, on west slope of the Hoosacs in Cold River Valley, sunk 1028 feet to same level, making a gradual up-grade between the two shafts. Work of tunnelling in 1851 first began with pick-axes, hand-drills, and explosives. Quicksand was met at the Eastern Portal, and a second heading was made. Much difficulty was encountered at the Western Portal, owing to the fact that the workmen there struck the soluble talc schists, which formed streams of mud of the consistency of pudding. This resulted in an excavation of 550 feet of earth, 300 feet in width, by 75 feet in depth. A casing of timber, 883 feet in length, was built for the support of the roof and the floor of the chamber. The first 900 feet of the tunnel thus consists of a solid tube of masonry, averaging eight thicknesses of brick.

These obstacles lead the great wiseacres to declare that the Hoosac Tunnel could not be completed. The timely invention of nitro-glycerine and its successful uses under Prof. George Mowbray, made slow but sure progress after the picks struck the flint quartzite nodules in the heart of Hoosac Mountain.

A rock-cutting machine, designed to aid in excavating headings, was hauled to Hoosac Mountain in 1851. After cutting ten feet of rock, it refused to work and was left standing near the Eastern Portal for old iron. Later, in a letter dated September 25, 1858, H. Haupt prophesied to General Wood that the slowest progress of another new boring machine was fifteen inches an hour, and that the tunnel could be completed in twenty-six months. But the

monster auger refused to bore a single inch, and like the cutting-machine was abandoned for old iron.

The engineers constructing Mount Ceniz Tunnel through the Alps adopted steam-power drills. Engineer Doane later introduced air-compressed power-drills in Hoosac Tunnel. A dam was constructed on the Deerfield above the Eastern Portal, and ninety pounds of compressed air to the square inch was piped into the tunnel to operate the pistons of the drilling-machines. Haupt and Co., after excavating a mile and two feet, resigned their work in 1861. A legislative act in 1862 decided that the State should complete the Hoosac Tunnel, and in February, 1863, F. Shanly and Bro. from Canada, contracted to complete the excavation, and build the railroad for \$4,750,000 by March 1, 1874.

The slopes about the "Tunnel City" assumed the characteristic atmosphere of a Western mining camp, and the accidents that befall mining districts failed not to visit North Adams. The power-house, containing the machinery operating the drilling-machine and pumps over the Central Shaft, was destroyed by fire, through an explosion of a tank of gasoline, October 19, 1867. The hoisting buckets, loaded with rock, announced the catastrophe to the thirteen miners, 583 feet below the burning building.

The heroic Mallery was lowered by ropes to the bottom of the shaft the next morning and reported a depth of fifteen feet of water, but no signs of living or dead men. A year later, a new building, equipped with pumps, removed the water and recovered the bodies of the entombed miners. Tradition records that ghostly forms haunted the trail between the West Shaft and Central Shaft until the bodies were buried on the hillside beneath the blue sky.

Tourists visited the tunnel to behold the mechanism of the novel drilling-machine, and the explosive action of the cartridges of dynamite attached to a galvanic battery. The

poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, once prophesied that the millenium and the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel would take place at the same time. On Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1873, the final blast broke away the last barrier of rock separating the Hoosac from the Deerfield Valley. A variation of $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch existed between the two headings.

Nineteen weary years had elapsed from the time of the opening to the time of the closing blast which completed the Hoosac Tunnel, four and three-fourth miles in length, through the wall of the "Forbidden Hoosac," over which Nature had inscribed "No Thoroughfare." It remains one of the world's wonders in pioneer engineering, although Mount Cenis Tunnel, begun after the Hoosac Tunnel, is seven and a half miles in length.

The value of manufactures on the upper Hoosac in 1868, according to records of the Internal Revenue Department, was \$7,000,000, much of which was iron, woollen, cotton, and leather goods. The opening of the Hoosac Tunnel took place when the first truck cars passed safely through the mountain's wall, February 9, 1875. Passenger trains did not make regular trips until the autumn of 1876. Merely to shorten the distance between Boston and Albany by nine miles actually cost 196 lives and \$20,241,842. The line of the tunnel is marked by telegraph poles over the Hoosac Mountain, observed to advantage from the engineer's signal block-house, still standing on the brow of Ragged Mountain, opposite the Western Portal.

The Hudson River Railroad was opened for passenger trains on October 1, 1851, while the Harlem Extension of the Putnam Division, passing from Chatham through Little Hoosac Pass to Petersburg Junction and thence to Bennington, was one of the pioneer roads. The Bennington branch of the Rutland Railroad—now a part of the New York and Montreal Railroad—was reorganized with the

Harlem Extension by Pres. Abram B. Gardner and Trenor W. Park of Bennington in 1877. After the latter's death, Gov. John G. McCullough of North Bennington became a director. Branch roads connect with the Hoosac Tunnel, Fitchburgh, and Boston line—now known as the Boston and Maine Railroad—at Petersburg Junction, Hoosac Junction, Eagle Bridge, Johnsonville, Schaghticoke, and Mechanicsville Junction. The Valley of Mingling Waters becomes the vale of mingling railroads.

The leading manufactures of North Adams consist of woollen, cotton, print goods, shoes, and leather novelties. The historic Linwood Mill, founded by Briggs Bros. in 1822, produced cassimeres and cheviots. The mills are now owned by Stephen W. Barker, the wool-merchant of Troy. The Blackington Mill, founded in 1822 by Wells, Blackington, and White turned out satinet. Later it was converted into a woollen mill by Sandford Blackington and his son, William Blackington. The Braytonville Mill was founded by William E. and Thomas A. Brayton in 1831 for the manufacture of printing cloth a yard wide, and was converted into a woollen mill in 1863, by Sandford Blackington and Daniel Dewey. The hamlet was then known as Deweyville, now Braytonville.

The Greylock Cotton-Mill was founded in 1846 and re-organized in 1880 as a gingham-mill. It is now operated as a part of Plunkett's Berkshire Cotton Plant of Adams, and contains 25,000 spindles and 600 looms for the production of fine lawns. Johnson's Factory occupies the finest mill-site in Hoosac Valley. It was founded as a warp-mill by Sylvander Johnson, Nathaniel Hathaway, George Bly, and Peter Blackington in 1850, and later reorganized as a gingham-mill.

The first print works of North Adams were founded by Caleb B. Turner in 1830, on the site of Otis Hodge's iron



The "Tunnel City" of North Adams, Massachusetts, revealing the Church spires of the "Hollow Vale" of the Mayoosac and the Ashawagsac, the North and South branches of the Hoosac headwaters.

From Witts's Ledge west of the City.

furnace. Later, the place was occupied by the calico works by Stephen B. Brown and Duty S. Tyler. The Arnold Print Works were founded by Harvey and John F. Arnold, descendants of Gov. Benedict Arnold of Rhode Island. The



Greylock Factory Village, North Adams, Massachusetts, at the base of Mount Williams, the northern abutment of Greylock Range. Factory chimneys and Church spires replace the cannon mounts of the Old Forts of Hoosac Valley.

Beaver Print Works were founded in 1832 by Maj. Loring Rice and George W. Bly, after which Union Village in Clarksburgh was organized north of North Adams. The Freeman Print Works were founded by Levi L. Brown of Adams at an equally early day. The present Windsor Print Works, near the junction of the Mayoonsac with the Ashawaghsac, consist of a consolidation of the Arnold, Beaver, and Freeman works.

The shoe business of North Adams began in 1843, when Edwin Childs and David C. Rogers opened a small shop.

The largest shoe concerns in North Adams to-day include those founded by Milard, Cady, Chase, Whitman, Canedy, and Sampson, and engage an average of 2500 operators. In 1870, Sampson employed 75 Chinamen during a strike, which proved the first introduction of Chinese labor in New England. The leather business was founded by Daniel Barber. It is the only New England concern finishing seal, morocco, and pigskin leather both for shoes and novelties direct from the green hides.

James Hunter, Sr., a Scotchman from Galashiels in 1847, founded a machine shop on the east bank of the Ashawagh-sac, near the site of the historic furnace. There is scarcely a woollen mill in the United States not supplied with machinery from Hunter's machine shop. At an early day North Adams became celebrated as a mechanical centre. Allen B. Wilson invented his sewing-machine in the town. During the spring of 1850, he left North Adams with his sewing machine model for New York to secure a patent. In 1865, he returned and built the Wilson House with the profits of his invention, now manufactured as the Wheeler and Wilson sewing-machine.

The Rev. Washington Gladden states¹ that Allen B. Wilson invented a sewing-machine without help or suggestion from anybody else, and without having seen or heard of a sewing-machine. The idea was purely original with him. The Wheeler and Wilson was a practical success from the start.

The manufactures of Adams Village consist of cotton, paper, lime, and marble. The Berkshire Cotton Manufacturing Company was organized, August 10, 1889, by sons of Gen. W. C. Plunkett, first Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. Mill No. 1 was dedicated in February, 1890, with a concert attended by 6000 people. Mill No. 2 was

¹ Washington Gladden, *From the Hub to the Hudson*, 1872.

dedicated, October 5, 1892, by Gov. William McKinley, of Ohio, after the passage of McKinley's tariff bill. The cost of the first two mills exceeded \$1,000,000. Mill No. 3 was dedicated by William McKinley in 1899, after his election as President. The whole plant is equipped with 2100 spindles and employs 1000 hands, and is acknowledged second to no other American cotton concern. The L. L. Brown Paper Company is noted for its superior hand-made ledger paper the world over. The historic Harbor Mill of Cheshire on the upper Ashawaghsac still remains as a landmark. The Greylock Shirt Company at Adams, founded in 1891, produces 500 dress shirts weekly. The Shirting and Tablecloth Company was founded by Levi L. Brown and is now operated by James Renfrew at Renfrew. At Maple Grove the Adams Bros. run a cotton yarn-mill.

The Adams Marble Quarry on Ragged Mountain was opened in 1895 and produces pure crystal marble 99 $\frac{99}{100}$ % carbonate of lime. It is equal to the Lee and Dorset quarries, and only surpassed by the Italian marbles. The New England lime-kilns carry on an extensive business and control a branch kiln at Kreigger Rocks in North Pownal, Vt.

The Bennington manufactures of the upper Walloomsac consist of pottery, stoves, furnaces, gunpowder, and paper-pulp; dress goods, shoddy, knit underwear, and hosiery; men's uniforms, cuffs, collars, waxed-paper, mineral soap, and ochres.

Col. Olin Scott, a descendant from several of the pioneer mill-owners of historic Bennington, invented machinery for the manufacture of gun-powder during the Civil War, and now ships it throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Russia, and South Africa. Later he erected powder-mills at Marquette, Mich., Youngstown, O., Scranton, Pa., New York City, and Wilmington, Del. His



The Sucker Pond, summit of Green Mountains in Stamford and Woodford, east of Bennington. The pond known as Lake Hancock is the natural reservoir for the water supply of Bennington. It is a favorite picnic and fishing-ground for tourists.

machine-shop at Bennington produces machinery to-day for the manufacture of wood-pulp for paper stocks, which is shipped throughout the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, Japan, Russia, Germany, Norway, and Sweden.

Trenor W. Parks born in "Woodford City" was named after Thomas W. Trenor. He became a famous jurist in California, and after his return to the Walloomsac Valley he built a palatial mansion in North Bennington, on the farm of his father-in-law, ex-Gov. Hiland Hall. Among his bequests may be noted the Trenor W. Park Public Library Building, the Soldiers' Home at Bennington, surrounded by a beautiful park, adorned by a famous fountain, and the Gothic Congregational Church at North Bennington. Through Park's enterprise the Panama Railroad was purchased and re-sold to the present Panama Canal Company.

The Norton pottery and John Van Spiegel stove and furnace works flourished during early days. The pulp and paper-mill industries of the Walloomsac included the Fillmore and Slade pulp-mill at Bennington Falls, which occupied the site of the historic Benton and Fuller paper-mill of seventy-five years previous, at Paper-Mill Village. The Stark Paper-Mill Company controls the old stone mill built by Edward Welling in 1833 on the site of Tory Haviland's grist-mill at North Bennington; the Sodom or State Line paper-mill, and also the Valley Falls paper-mill on the lower Hoosac.

The knit underwear and hosiery industry was founded by Henry Bradford in 1854, and this plant is now owned by Col. Lyman F. Abbott and William H. and Edward W. Bradford. Charles H. Lindloff, Norman Puffer, George Rockwood, and Tiffany Bros. also turn out knit underwear and ship goods throughout the United States. Crawford and Carney manufacture shoddy; Enos Adams, mineral soap; Bottom and Torrance, cuffs and collars; Coy and Babcock turn out



The Soldiers' Home for Vermont Veterans, Bennington.

over ten tons of waxed paper daily, shipped throughout the States.

The pioneer products of North Bennington consisted of starch, manufactured by Edward Welling in the old stone grist-mill in 1850. In 1867, the place became the Welling and Thatcher paper-mill. The mill-pond belonging to the



The Walter Abbott Wood mowing- and reaping-machine shops, Hoosac Falls, New York, founded in 1851. Wood's machines are harvesting in the fields on five continents to-day.

Vermont Mill Company covers fifty acres, occupying the site of the "Old Doty Cotton Mill," built in 1811, now the site of the "E. Z." waist factory, operated by Clark and Haight. The latter is the proprietor of the Superior Manufacturing Company of Hoosac Falls. Six hundred "E. Z." children's waists are turned out daily. Cushman's furniture novelties are manufactured in the Truman Estes stone cotton-mill built 1840. The Walbridge Company and the Hawley White Company in Hinsdillville both manufacture stereoscopes and lenses sold throughout the world.

The financiers and inventors of central Hoosac mill-centre, between Pownal and Eagle Bridge, include James Fisk, Jr., the railroad magnate, known as the "Prince of Erie." As a child he resided with Mrs. Albro on the northeast corner of River and Main streets in Pownal. A memorial monument marks the grave of Mrs. Albro in Oak Hill Cemetery. On the west bank of the Hoosac, opposite Kreigger Rocks, is located the Westinghouse Farm, settled by the great-grand-fathers of George Westinghouse—the inventor of the airbrake—now President of the Westinghouse Electrical Corporation of New York, Pittsburgh, and London.

The name of Walter Abbott Wood of Hoosac Falls mill-centre is a memorable one. He was a son of the Quaker, Aaron Wood, born October 23, 1815. They located in central Hoosac and manufactured wagons and ploughs until 1852; and between 1845 and 1848 young Wood invented a mowing-machine. In 1851, the London Society of Arts drew the world's attention to American inventions, including Wood's mowing- and reaping-machines. The same year John H. Manning invented the Illinois mower and harvester combination. Wood secured territorial rights and improved and manufactured 300 of Manning's machines in 1853 at Hoosac Falls. Five years later he opened his London office, and in less than twenty-five years shipped a thousand mowing-machines to England.

At the opening of 1857, there had been patented 156 mowing-machines and 62 harvesters in the United States. The Manning machine, combined with Wood's inventions, figured in all the National and International Exhibitions, and received the gold medals between 1862 and 1876. At the International Exhibition at Vienna, Wood was regarded as a "Benefactor to Humanity" and awarded the Grand Diploma of Honor for introducing mowing- and reaping-machines in Europe. These machines are now found the

world over. The number of machines produced annually in Wood's Hoosac Falls shops was 25,000, the sale of which, previous to Wood's death, netted \$3,000,000 a year.

The Malleable Iron Works of Hoosac Falls was founded by Isaac C. Johnson of New York City and William Nichols of Hoosac in 1871. It consumes over 800 tons of iron annually in the manufacture of carriage ironings, carpenter, and agricultural tools.

The Schaghticoke mill-centre about Hart's Falls turns out woollen-goods, cable, paper, and powder. The woollen-mill founded by Amos Briggs and Thomas Vail in 1863 turned out fancy cassimeres. It is now a branch of the historic Linwood Mill of North Adams. J. J. Joslin of Buskirk Bridge purchased the mill in 1878. Both the Schaghticoke and North Adams cassimere-mills are now owned by the wool merchant, Stephen J. Barker of Troy.

The Eagle Shirt Works of Schaghticoke were opened in 1876 and finished 12,000 dozen shirts annually. The Powder-Mill is one of the oldest industries of the town, located half a mile south of Hart's Falls. Drs. Franklin and Saxton were among the pioneer proprietors and passed through several explosions.

The Cable Flax-Mill was founded by Lake and Sproat in 1871. It occupies the historic site of Joy's linen-duck mill and supplies the market of the world with rope, twine, yarn, and shoe thread, from their Troy, New York, and San Francisco offices. Over 6000 pounds of raw material of flax are consumed daily, from which are produced 5000 pounds of finished material.

The promoter, George Tibbits of Dutch Hoosac, also owned vast estates in Schaghticoke. He once conceived of a plan to use the water-power of Hart's Falls to furnish power for several factories in the gorge between the "Big-Eddy" and the "Devil's Chimney," opposite the "Fallen-hill"



The "Big-Eddy" of Hart's Falls below Schaghticoke Point Bridge, during the building of the Electric Power Dam. In the distance stands the High School Building, and on the left in the foreground stood the ruined walls of the first Cotton-Mill built in America in 1810, until removed during building present Electric Dam, in 1908.

in Old Schaghticoke. A "brush dam" was begun on the south bank of the Hoosac between "Hell's-gate" and "Indian-square," opposite "Buck's-neck." It consisted of trees bolted with their branches in layers, that served as transverse timbers. The whole structure was covered with earth, with gates or conduits to furnish power to a series of mills, one below the other. A tremendous cloud-burst in the highlands caused a destructive freshet in Hart's Falls gorge. The brush dam was lifted bodily by the Fiend of Calamity and the visionary dream of the manufacturing city of Schaghticoke floated down to Mechanicsville and Cohoes Falls mill-centres. The ruins of the brick walls of one of the gates and the mounds of the brush dam are still discernible at "Indian-square."

The Hoosac Valley Street Railway Co. was chartered in 1886. The line was first equipped with the five bob-tailed horse cars, running between North Adams and Adams, and extended to Pittsfield in 1887. Pres. William B. Baldwin in 1889 equipped the line with Thomson-Houston electric motors with a power plant at Zylonite. This road was among the first six electric roads equipped with motor power in this country. It was here that the Thomson-Houston motors were experimented with before being introduced upon other lines.

During 1889, the Sand Spring line between North Adams and Williamstown was completed and in the spring of 1906 the extension to Bennington was completed. It connects with the Hoosac Falls Road. The grade between the village of Pownal and Pownal Centre is 437 feet in two and one-half miles. The construction of this section cost the company considerably over \$1,000,000. The pine grove and swamps about Lake Ashawagh¹ lie two miles east of Pownal

¹ "Bogs of Etchowog" in *Bog-Trotting for Orchids*. See Note 1, at end of volume, and p. 493.

Centre, in the shadow of the Dome. A picturesque car line formerly extended from Bennington to the base of Mount Stark—the heights of Glastonbury. A cloud-burst on the Walloomsac headwaters took place a few years ago and the freshet demolished the tracks.

The electric car line from Stockbridge through the Hoosac and Walloomsac passes of the Green and Taconac Mountains to Bennington and Hoosac Falls offers the most picturesque and historic excursions to be found in New England.

The medicinal qualities of the Wampanoags' Sand Springs of White Oaks, Williamstown, were first known to the Hoosac Owls of the Mahicans. The hunter, Aaron Smedley, in 1762, was the first Christian known to bathe in the pool. Dr. Charles Bailey of Pittsfield purchased the Mineral Springs in 1830, and Greylock Hall was built and opened by Foster E. Swift in 1871. The hotel burned in 1887.

During 1893, Dr. S. Louis Lloyd founded the Sand Springs Sanitarium. Merck's analysis of the Wampanoags' Springs proved them to have a thermal temperature of 74° throughout the year, and that they were without any traces of lime. For rheumatism and kidney troubles they are superior to the Hot Springs of Arkansas, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Carlsbad in Prussia and Bohemia.

From the time of the construction of the Hoosac Tunnel, the Valley folk were united in their desire to advance both commercial and intellectual pursuits. When in 1894 the Massachusetts State Board of Education proposed to build several normal colleges, North Adams was foremost in welcoming the suggestion. Her citizens offered \$100,000 in land and money as an inducement to locate one of the schools in the "Tunnel City"—the "liveliest business centre in the State"—with a population of over 25,000.

In presenting the Hoosactonians' plea before the legislative committee, Dr. John Bascom of Williams College signi-

ificantly pointed to the map and said: "North Adams sits at the Western Gateway of the Commonwealth." This phrase became the legend adopted on the seal of the "Tunnel City," after its incorporation as a city in 1895. The seal consists of an engraving of the Western Portal of Hoosac Tunnel, encircled with the declaration "WE HOLD THE WESTERN GATEWAY."

Above the waving branches of the park-enfolded vale of the Mayoonsac and Ashawaghsac,¹ at North Adams, one beholds a multitude of church steeples and factory smokestacks. Among the spires are those of the First Baptist Church, the fourth built on the site in 1880; the Second Congregational Church, built in 1865; the Methodist Church, dedicated in 1873; St. John's Episcopal Church, dedicated in 1869, and the Universalist Church, built in 1893. St. Francis's Irish Catholic Church comprises nearly 12,000 members—one half of the population of the City, while the French Notre Dame Cathedral comprises over 6000 members—one-fourth of the City's population. The Russian Jewish Synagogue, built in 1892, had forty members at that date.

Among the school towers are noted Drury Academy High School on Colgrove Hill. The pioneer academies included Eastman's School for Girls and Parsons's School for Boys. Nathan Drury of Florida in 1840 equipped Parsons's School with chemical and physical apparatus and willed \$3000 to found Drury Academy. The Trustees changed it to Drury High School in 1851, and it has sent forth many distinguished graduates. The Normal School and Mark Hopkins Training School on Church Street are among the best equipped in the State.

On the slopes of Bald Mountain² in the north part of the City stands the North Adams Hospital, dedicated in March,

¹ See Note 1, at end of volume.

² Clarksburgh Mountain.

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1885. The Berkshire Hills Sanatorium in the northwest part of the City was founded by Dr. William F. Brown in 1896. It accommodates 200 patients and it is the largest private hospital in the United States for the treatment of sarcoma by the escharotic method—surgery without the use of a knife.



The State Normal College and Taconac Hall, North Adams, Massachusetts.

Houghton Memorial Library occupies the Sandford Blackington Mansion. It was a gift of the Hon. Albert C. Houghton in 1896 to the City, together with \$10,000, as a memorial to his brother, Andrew J. Houghton of Boston. Both were born in Stamford, Vt. The library contains over 16,000 volumes and manuscripts. The Fort Massachusetts Historical Rooms and Natural History Museum occupy the library building.

From Forest Park Observatory, west of McKinley Square, at Adams may be seen the Quaker Meeting-house and ceme-

tery; the spires of the Baptist, Methodist, Universalist; Irish, French and Polish Roman Catholic churches, and the towers of the Town Hall and Memorial Library; while above all looms Mount Greylock.

The corner-stone of the Library was laid by President McKinley in 1897. After his assassination, the citizens of Adams on October 10, 1903, erected the first heroic statue of the martyred president. Four bronze tablets represent the principal historic acts of McKinley's life: As Commissary Sergeant during the Battle of Antietam in 1862; Addressing the House of Representatives on the measures of the McKinley Tariff Bill; Delivering his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1897, at Washington; and a quotation from his Buffalo Address, delivered September 6, 1901, before his assassination: "Let us remember that our interests lie in Concord, not Conflict, and that our real eminence is in the victories of Peace, not those of War."

Susan B. Anthony, the pioneer leader of the agitation for women's rights, was born at her grandfather David Anthony's homestead, Bowen's Corner, two miles east of McKinley Square, Adams, on February 15, 1820. She worshipped in the Old Quaker Meeting-house at the foot of Greylock, and at the age of fifteen taught a primary school at her home, charging neighboring children a dollar a week for instruction. She completed her own education at the Friends' Boarding School in Philadelphia. Daniel Anthony, her father, removed to Rochester neighborhood, New York, and Susan taught a school in Utica at \$15.00 a month in 1847, at the age of twenty-seven years. She was asked to resign, and the District Committee appointed a man in her place with twice her salary, notwithstanding the fact that he rendered inferior service. This gross injustice to her sex led to her maiden speech on woman's rights in the neighboring Baptist Church. Her last visit to Adams was

at a family reunion on July 30, 1897. At that time she addressed the Berkshire Historical Society in Forest Park Pavilion. The David Anthony homestead was purchased by the late Alexander Horton, intended as a centre for



Memorial Library, McKinley Square, Adams, Massachusetts.

Statue of the martyred President McKinley, the first heroic monument to President McKinley erected in the United States, 1903.

"Let us remember that our interests lie in Concord, not Conflict, and that our real eminence is in the victories of Peace, not those of War."—PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S Buffalo Address before his assassination, September 6, 1901.

Suffragists, although the building burned down soon after Miss Anthony's death.

The Trout Hatchery north of Adams Village produces annually 250,000 trout to supply the brooks of western Massachusetts. On the Morey and Howland farms is located the Hoosac Valley Park, opposite the Cross Road, built by the Electric Car Company in 1891. It is an hour's ride from Bennington.

A broad view greets one from the Battle Monument on Bennington Hill, including the "Giants of the Vale": Equinox and Æolus on the north; and the Dome, Greylock and Mount Hopkins on the south; while in the shadow of Mount Anthony the spires of the Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches point skyward.

The controversy of the Bennington Centre post-office during 1847 resulted in Postmaster John C. Haswell's engaging Dickerman Rider and forty yoke of oxen to haul his office-building down the hill to the corner of Main and South streets. Haswell was the editor of the *Vermont Gazette*. A rival newspaper was soon established and the Washington officials re-established the Centre post-office and Postmaster Haswell resigned.

Bennington Village was incorporated in 1849 and its population in 1900 was 5656. The general post-office, however, was established in the village in 1848 and the present Rural Free Delivery System inaugurated in 1885. The double Shire System of Bennington County provides for alternate court sessions at the half-shire towns of Bennington and Manchester. The court-house and the jail were erected on South Street at Bennington in 1869, after a decision of a legislative committee, composed of Ebenezer N. Briggs and Abishai B. Harrington.

Of the famous preachers, teachers, and abolitionists centred about the First Church at Bennington Centre between the Revolution and the Civil War may be mentioned the Rev. Hollis Read, the missionary author; the Rev. Absalom Peters, the "Father of Home Missions"; William Lloyd Garrison,¹ editor of the *Journal of the Times*, and the Rev. Isaac Jennings, author of *Memorials of a Century*. Mr. Saunders, author of several public school books, found more teachers

¹ A monument to Garrison's memory stands on The Parade.



All Saints' Chapel and Campus of Tibbits's Hoosac School for Boys, Hoosac, New York. In the Turret hangs a bell about five centuries and a half old. It was purchased in Europe by George Mortimer Tibbits, the founder of All Saints' Episcopal Chapel. The ancient bell rang the Christians to vespers in the Old Country nearly two centuries before Jean Allefonsee's fur-traders headed by their Jesuit Father unfurled the banner of St. Croix-Holy Cross and built Fort St. Croix Chapel near the junction of the Walloomsac with the Hoosac, 1540-1542.

from Vermont in the Western and Southern United States than from any other State in the Union.

Among the pioneer schools of Bennington may be mentioned the Old Brick Academy, south of the Battle Monument; Union Academy in Bennington Village, built in 1821; and Mount Anthony Seminary and Bennington Academy, opened in 1829. The Misses Clark, and the Misses Carpenter, Knight, and Gould schools for girls opened later.

The village of North Bennington is as progressive as Bennington. Among its spires are those of the Methodist, Universalist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches. Overlooking the picturesque Falls Quequick, east of the village of Hoosac Falls, may be observed the spires of the First Baptist and St. Mark's Episcopal churches. The latter church was dedicated by Bishop Horatio Potter in 1860, and the John Hobart Warren chimes and clock in the tower cost \$6000. Nor is one likely to overlook the steeple of the Augustian Fathers St. Mary's Church, in which is hung a heavy-toned bell weighing 2690 pounds, re-echoing among the dark ravines of the encircling hills.

The chimes of the Thompson Memorial Chapel of Williamstown are challenged for beauty of tone only by the chimes of the All Saints' Episcopal Chapel of Hoosac, built by George Mortimer Tibbits and dedicated by the Rev. Dr. Cummins. The chapel is built of unhewn stone and cost \$20,000. But the chimes are valued at \$12,000—the smallest bell being a relic of mediæval times, over five and a half centuries old. It was an old bell, ringing the Christians to prayers in Europe, about the time the French Father of St. Ange, France, hoisted the St. Croix banner in 1540 among the Hoosacs.

The pulpit of All Saints' Chapel is occupied by the Rev. John B. Tibbits and his son, the Rev. Edward Tibbits, both graduates of Williams College and grandsons of the Hon.



The Balloon North Adams. The factory chimneys loom up in the distance at the base of Bald Mountain of the Green Mountain Range, North Adams, Massachusetts.

*"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War."*

George Tibbits. The Hoosac School for Boys is under the tutorship of the Rev. Edward Tibbits.

The Mapleton Baptist Church was moved to the hill east of All Saints' Chapel at Hoosac in 1824. A new building was built on its site in 1831 and remained standing until 1870, when the present brick church was dedicated.

The Old Baptist Church on the hill was occupied between 1849 and 1852 by Elder William Arthur, father of Gen. Chester A. Arthur. Young Arthur taught in the brown schoolhouse at North Pownal between 1850 and 1852. When in 1852 James A. Garfield of Ohio was a Freshman at Williams, he also taught penmanship during the evening in the same schoolhouse, and presided over a Sunday-School class at the Congregational Church. The schoolhouse still stands, but the church burned recently. After President Garfield's assassination, Vice-President Arthur succeeded to the Presidency of the United States.

The pioneer Hoosac school committee in 1796 consisted of Sylvester Noble, Peter D. Van Dyck, John Comstock, and Joseph Dorr. The system was succeeded by a superintendent and supervisors in 1844. Ball Seminary was incorporated and built in District No. 1, at Hoosac Falls in 1843, at a cost of \$3567, by the late Judge Levi Chandler Ball, a native of Wilmington, Vt., where he was born, 1809. For twelve years the Seminary ranked first in New York State. The trustees, Walter Abbott Wood, the Rev. De Witt, and Charles H. Merritt, later converted the Seminary into Ball's High School.

Among the steeples of Schaghticoke Village may be seen those of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic churches. The last mentioned contains a bell weighing 1650 pounds, hung in the tower, 115 feet above the water table. The parish consists of over 2000 members.

The miniature lake formed by the dam of the Electrical

Power Company above Hart's Falls reminds one of the ancient glacial lake, whose terraced shores are still discernible throughout the Valley of Mingling Waters. The Troy Reservoir, nearly four miles in length, occupies the entire Tomhannac Valley east of East Schaghticoke Station. It is fed from Lake Babcock and Long Pond, located in the Hoosac Lake District of Grafton.

A number of years ago, the Fiend of Calamity visited the villagers of Schaghticoke Point in the form of a scourge and hundreds died. The place became known as the "Vale of Death" instead of the "Vale of Peace." Similar malarious vapors, known to the pioneer Christians, were described by the poet, Thomas Moore, in his *Evil Spirit of the Woods*, during 1804:

Now the vapor, hot and damp,
Sheds the day's expiring lamp,
Through the misty ether spreads
Every ill the white man dreads.

The close of a Century of Progress in Hoosac Valley witnesses not only rapid transit by way of the Grand Barge Erie Canal, recently completed between Waterford and Chicago, but a National School of Ballooning founded in the City of North Adams, which is a centre for balloon ascensions in New England.

Among other enterprises is that of the gladiolus culture in Berlin on the Little Hoosac. The gorgeous plants are grown not only for their flowers but for stocking the world's market with bulbs.

CHAPTER XXIV

LITERARY SHRINES OF THE VALLEY OF MINGLING WATERS 1610-1910

Climb the mountains and get their good tidings. Nature's peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves.

JOHN MUIR.

Mahican Muse—Washington Irving as "Diedrich Knickerbocker"—William Cullen Bryant—Nathaniel Hawthorne—Henry David Thoreau—The Towers of Mount Anthony and Greylock Parks—Catherine Sedgwick—Elizabeth Payson Prentiss—Helen Hunt Jackson—Albert Hopkins and the Alpine Club—Isaac Jennings—Levi Chandler Ball—Hiland Hall—Arthur Latham Perry—William Dwight Whitney—John Bascom—Thomas Nelson Dale.

THOUSANDS of sunrise worshippers climb to the summits¹ of Greylock and Mount St. Anthony to get their good tidings. The harmonious colors mantling the undulating mountain waves of the Taconacs have in the past thrown their charm over the Mahican seers, and continue to inspire the philosophers of civilized nations.

For ever, since the world began, thy eye,
Grey-headed mount, hath been upon these hills.
Piercing the sky, with all thy sea of woods
Swelling around thee, evermore thou art,
Unto our weaker, earthly sense, the type
Of the Eternal, changeless and alone.²

¹ See illustrations, pp. 3-493.

² David Dudley Field, *Greylock*; Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 795.

No trace of the muse of the Mahicans has come down to us:

Yet, perchance, the Indian hunter,
Many a lagging year ago,
Gliding o'er thy rippling waters
Lowly hummed a natural song.¹

The Pilgrim sailors who survived the perilous voyages of the *Half-Moon* and of the staunch *Mayflower*, built their chapels on the sites of the Hoosacs' shrines of *Manitou* and *Hobbamocko*. Here where their *Moodus* seers held their pow-wows, our bards and philosophers have trod:

'Mong the deep-cloven fells that for ages have listened
To the rush of the pebble-paved river between,

In the old mossy groves on the breast of the mountain
In deep lonely glens where the waters complain.²

The Hoosac hunting-grounds are as ancient as Great Unami, the fabled tortoise that dwelt along the fern-shaded shore of the Cambrian Sea, ebbing at the base of Greylock and Mount St. Anthony, ages before the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs marked the devious course of its lakes and rivers. In the old gray town of *Tawasentha* (the place of the many dead) mingles the dust of the Lenni-Lenape Kings from the unknown shores of UKHKOPECK beyond the sea.

The ancient breccia obelisks on the lower Hoosac mark the shrines of *Manitou* and *Hobbamocko*, although the names of the Hoosac pow-wow poets have been forgotten, and English grass flourishes over their tombs. Thoreau said: "Heroes survive storms and the spears of their foes, and perform a few heroic deeds, and then:

¹ Thoreau, *Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*, p. 306.

² Bryant, "*I cannot Forget with what Fervid Devotion.*"

'Mounds will answer questions of them,
For many future years.' "

Goethe, in his *Italian Travels*, says that the peasants brought up in that country looked over their shoulders at their ruined towers: "That they might behold with their own eyes what I had praised to their ears, . . . and I added nothing, not even the ivy which for centuries had decorated the walls."

Strangers have come to erect a tower to the memory of the departed warriors of Wappanachki, on the shores of their ebbing Unami Sea, near the statue of the Goddess of Liberty.¹ It is hoped that those born and brought up in the shadow of Greylock, Mount Anthony, and the Witenagemot Oak, will also look over their shoulders and behold "with their own eyes," the moss-grown shrines of the Hoosacs and Schaghticoes, and cast a stone on a cairn to their memory.

Hither the silent Indian maid
Brought wreaths of beads and flowers,
And the gray chief and gifted seer
Worshipped the god of thunders here.²

The poet, Bryant, in the ancient *Legends of the Delawares and Mahicans*, relates that Onetho, the bowyer-chief, beheld the whiteman's lightning arrows of the sky overthrow his nation's council oak. He procured the polished weapon and was later slain himself in his favorite Bellows'-Pipe hunting-grounds, at the eastern base of Mount Greylock. Onetho's spirit still haunts the Vale and breathing hard sends:

The shower of fiery arrows round.

The English pioneers of Northfield and Springfield behold-

¹ John Wanamaker, Jr., Paris, France, proposed Indian statue to be erected on Staten Island, New York City.

² Bryant, *An Indian at the Burial-Place of his Fathers*.



The Iron Tower on the bald Summit of Mount Greylock. The Summit is 3505 feet above sea level and the Tower is 50 feet high.

*O thou Greylock, graceful monarch!
Thou art king of all this land;
And thus travellers look with pleasure
From thy summit to the strand.*

*Where we now thus tread so softly,
In the million years gone by,
Here the rolling waves have wandered,
Like clouds against the sunrise sky.*

LOUIS EDWARD NILES, Mount Greylock.

ing the "Giants of the Northwest" capped with a grey-lock of mist at sunrise or a cloudy nightcap at sunset, christened the highest summit Grey-Lock¹ after the frowning chieftain of the Woronoaks, who wore a grey-lock of hair. From Lake Onota in Pittsfield, Greylock and Mount Griffin resemble a gigantic horseman's saddleback 10,000 feet in length by 600 feet in depth. Hawthorne during his stage ride from Pittsfield to North Adams, July 26, 1838,² sat outside with the driver, Platt, leaving the newly married couple inside the coach "to their love-pats and benign expressions of matrimonial sweetness." Upon arriving at Adams, Hawthorne inquired the name of the mountain rising upon his left. Platt informed him that "it was a very high hill," known as Greylock, a name which he greatly preferred to the Pittsfielders' designation of Saddleback. This is evidently the first record of the name Greylock for the highest of the Berkshire Hills. Oliver Wendell Holmes in September, 1850, read a dedicatory poem at the opening of Pittsfield Cemetery, in which he refers to the Ragged Mountains about the base of the "Twin-thrones" of the "Giants of the North" as:

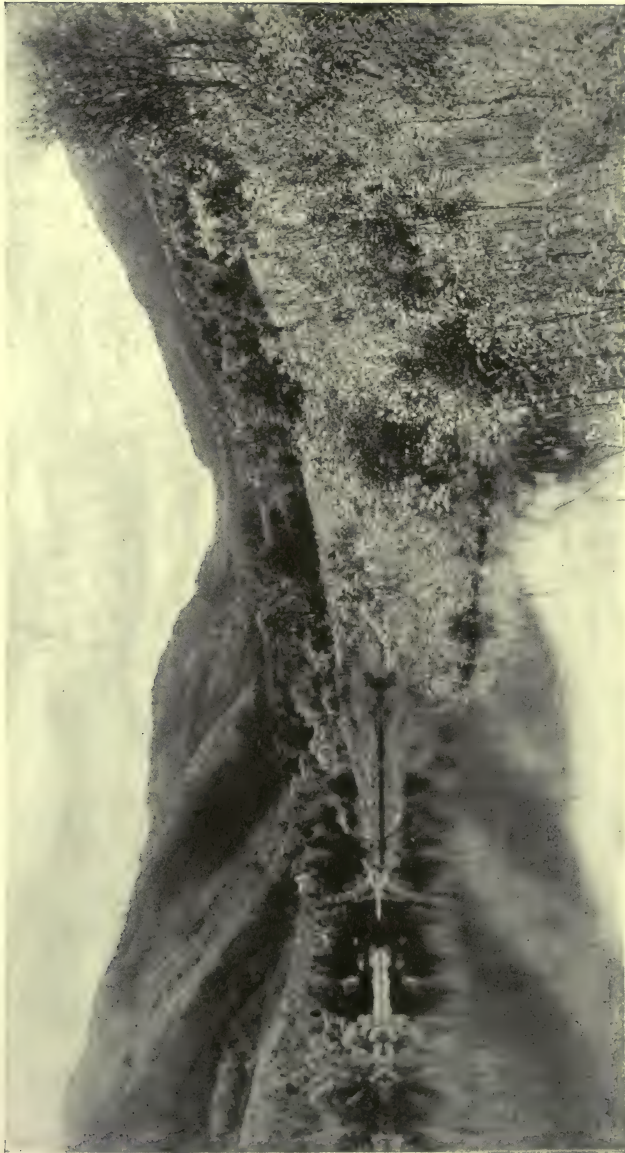
The huge shapes, that crouching at their knees,
Stretch their broad shoulders, rough with shaggy trees.

The savage character of the forests of the lower Hoosac was described by Mrs. Sigourney of Hartford, in her poem *Schaghticoke and the Knickerbackers*. The Irish poet, Thomas Moore, visited the region during the summer of 1804, and in his poem of *Cohoes Falls* was not unmindful of the wood of pine and the rainbows arching in the sunlit mist above the leaping waters.

About the same time that Moore visited Cohoes Falls,

¹"Greylock Park Reservation," *New Eng. Mag.*, Dec., 1911.

²Hawthorne, *American Note-Book*.



The Bellows'-Pipe Park, Ragged Mountains, revealing the Notch Valley about the North Adams Reservoir at the eastern base of Greylock Park Reservation. The belt of pasture land against the horizon is known as the Bellows'-Pipe, much played upon by the moaning Southeasters.

*Oft gentle Soquon, of Great Soquis race,
Sang in the "Bellows'" holy hunting-place,*

*Where Onetho, the phantom chieftain, lies,
Wielding the lightning weapons of the skies.*

GRACE GREYLOCK NILES, The Hoosac Valley of Mingling Waters.

Washington Irving, under the assumed name, "Diedrich Knickerbocker," was writing the legends of Rip Van Winkle and the Bully Boys of Helderberg Mountains. His *Knickerbocker's History of New York* was published in 1809. Young Irving formed a life-long friendship with Herman Jansen Knickerbacker, son of Col. Johannes Knickerbacker 2d. During Irving's visits to the Old Mansion at Schaghticoke, it was his delight to listen to Uncle Tom's ghost and witch tales, and the adventures of Ethan Allen, Ignace Kipp, and the Yankee schoolmaster, Mallery, of "Spook Hollow" and Schaghticoke Plains.

The rusty, black coat, olive-velvet breeches, and small cocked hat of "Grandfather Knick" himself, worn by the historian, "Diedrich Knickerbocker," together with the old pigskin-covered chest and saddle-bags of his Friesland and Masterlandt ancestors were all stern realities to young Irving and the Knickerbacker boys, who acted charades in the attic of the "Hostead" on rainy days. Indeed, there are still stored many quaint relics of the good old manorial days of Dutch Hoosac.

Irving in his musings on death that appear in the *Knickerbocker's History of New York* says:

Such are my feelings when I visit the family Mansion of the Knickerbockers, and spend a lonely hour in the chamber where hang the portraits of my forefathers, shrouded in dust, like the forms they represent. With pious reverence do I gaze on the countenances of those renowned burghers, who have preceded me in the steady march for existence,—whose sober and temperate blood now meanders through my veins, flowing slower in its feeble conduits, until its currents shall soon be stopped forever!

Irving's musings on death, to which Bryant had access at college, in 1810-1811, may have given him the impetus for the first draft of *Thanatopsis*.



Flora's Glen, Williamstown, Massachusetts, known to-day as Thanatopsis Glen. The poet, William Cullen Bryant, while a Sophomore at Williams, in 1810-1811, is reported to have composed the first draft of his great poem on Death in this rock-ribbed vale.

*Go forth, under the open sky, and list
To Nature's teachings.*

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, *Thanatopsis*.

Irving's meditations on death, however, were written in the "narrow house," in full view of the Schaghticoke and Knickerbacker burial-field, where the Witenagemot Oak could send its roots abroad and pierce the mould of the seers of ages past. Bryant's musings were conducted "under the open sky" in Flora's Glen, two miles west of Williams College campus. He says:

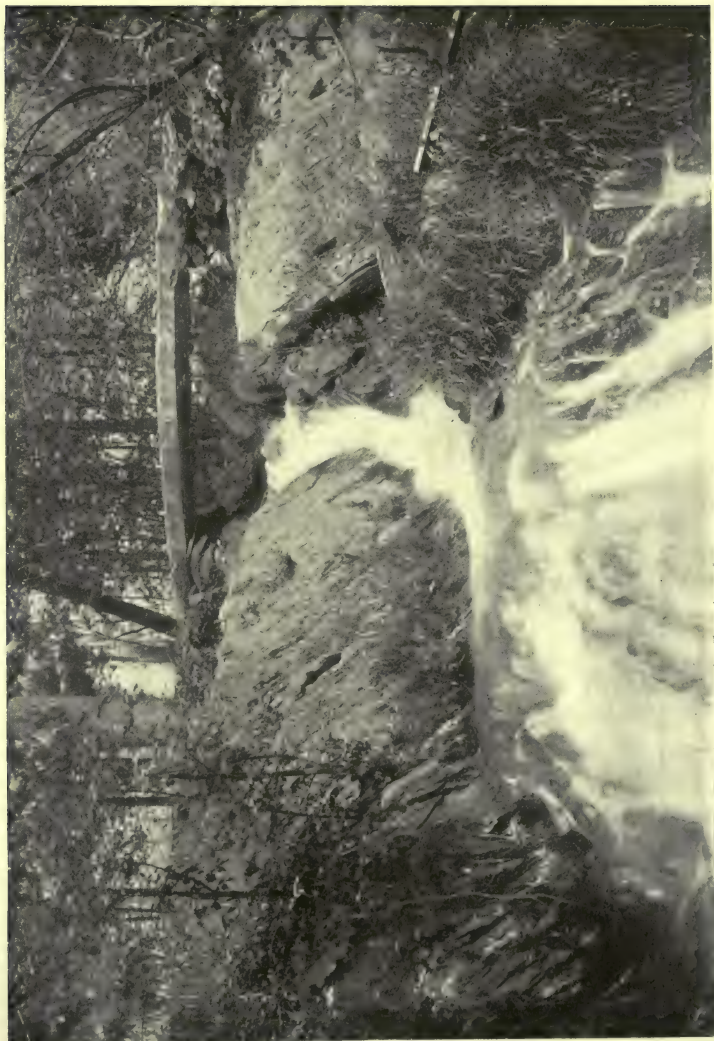
When thoughts
Of the last bitter hour come like a blight
Over thy spirit, and sad images
And breathless darkness, and the narrow house,
Make thee to shudder, and grow sick at heart;—
Go forth, under the open sky, and list
To Nature's teachings.

Irving, beholding the portraits of his forefathers on the walls of his silent chamber in the Knickerbacker Mansion, said:

These, I say to myself, are but frail memorials of the worthy men who flourished in the days of the patriarchs, but who, alas, have long since mouldered in the tomb toward which *my steps* are insensibly and irresistibly hastening. Carried away by the delusions of my fancy, I almost imagine myself surrounded by the shades of the departed, and holding sweet converse with the worthies of antiquity.

It was believed that Irving in 1808 had the dread disease, consumption. He later visited England for his health. The poet, Bryant, closes *Thanatopsis* with a measured strain similar to that of Irving:

Yet not to thine eternal resting-place
Shalt thou retire alone, nor couldst thou wish
Couch more magnificent. Thou shalt lie down



Cascade below Tibbitts's School Lake, Hoosac, New York, near the birthplace of Owen Wister's heroine of "The Virginian."

The Hoosac Valley

With patriarchs of the infant world—with kings,
 The powerful of the earth—the wise, the good
 Fair forms, and hoary seers of ages past,
 All in one mighty sepulchre . . .

By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
 Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
 About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

During Bryant's sojourn of seven months at Williams College, his room-mate, John Avery, accompanied him on long walks to all the glens, water-falls, and historic battle-fields in the Valley. The poet, in a satire entitled *Descriptio Gulielmopolis*, written during the spring of 1811, confesses that:

Amid these vales I touched the lyre,
 Where devious Hoosac rolls his floods.¹

In his poem *Green River*, he describes the stream with its waters of green, and colored pebbles and sparkles of light. His *Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood* pictures Flora's Glen.

The mossy rocks themselves,
 And the old and ponderous trunks of prostrate trees
 That lead from knoll to knoll a causey rude
 Or bridge the sunken brook.

The first drafts of *Thanatopsis*, *Earth*, *Hymn to Death*, and many other poems are believed to have been made in Flora's Glen by Bryant between October, 1810, and May, 1811. The hallowed shrine is known as Thanatopsis Glen, located at the foot of "Bee Hill," near the entrance to Hemlock Glen Road. Charles Woodbury once accompanied Ralph Waldo Emerson to the spot and remarked that "it was a

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 340-341.



Mount Anthony Park and the Walloomsac Gap, Bennington, Vermont, from Mount Æta (Mason Hill) on the south in Pownal. On the right lie the Bogs of Ashawagh, the Mahicans' name for the marsh land between the sources of two rivers. It refers to the headwaters between the Hoosac and Walloomsac about Lake Ashawagh (Pownal Pond), at the base of the Dome of the Green Mountains. The rich floral region was explored by the pioneer botanists, Amos Eaton, Chester Dewey, Ebenezer Emmons, and Albert Hopkins, of Williams College, and is described by the author of "Bog-Trotting for Orchids," as the "Bogs of Etchowog" (Ashawagh).

place apt to suggest the thoughts found in *Thanatopsis*." Emerson himself was moved to recite Wordsworth's *Excursion* to his companion in the glen. The author-critic, Hamilton Wright Mabie, in his chapter, "The Mountain Brook," published in his volume, *Under the Trees and Elsewhere*, describes Flora's Glen as the birthplace of the "noblest poem on Death ever written." The romantic "rock-ribbed" ravine is a hallowed shrine not only for Williams College Alumni but for foreign tourists visiting Williamstown. It was a favorite haunt of Cornelia Grinnell Willis, wife of the poet, Nathaniel P. Willis, and Theodore F. Wolfe mentions the sequestered glen in his *Literary Shrines*. The artist-naturalist, Hamilton Gibson, resided during 1885 at a farm-house on "Bee Hill" above Flora's Glen, while writing *Bright Eyes* and other nature studies.

Among the historians of the Hoosac and Walloomsac may be mentioned Isaac Jennings, author of *Memorials of a Century*. It is a local history of the Old First Church of Bennington Centre and of Walloomsac folk, published in 1869. Gov. Hiland Hall wrote his *Early History of Vermont*, published in 1868, at his home in North Bennington. Later Judge Levi Chandler Ball published his *Annals of Hoosac*, and Arthur Latham Perry his invaluable *Origins in Williamstown and Williamstown and Williams College*, in 1896 and 1899. T. Nelson Dale has published the *Geological History of Mount Greylock*, and of the Hoosac Pass of the Taconacs.

During 1825, a party of Williams College students, headed by David Dudley Field, the orator of his class, paid their reverence to the famous French General, La Fayette, on The Square at Pittsfield. Later, Marquis La Fayette visited Henry Harteau's Mansion at the foot of Mount Greylock in Adams. The story reads that the gallant General, while

there, fell in love with a beautiful American lady, who was engaged to an American officer.

Washington Irving, known as "Sunny-side Penman" of the Hudson Valley, belongs also to Hoosac Valley fame. He died, November 28, 1863, and Joseph Foster Knickerbacker, the "Poet of the Vale" in Old Schaghticoke, wrote an *In Memoriam* to Irving, published in his *Visions of the Arch of Truth and Other Poems* in 1876. *The Arch of Truth* represents "A lofty, over-circled gateway or entrance to Courts of surpassing glory and adornment, opening to the abodes of Immortality." Such an arch, surmounted by a dove, leads to the Knickerbacker Mansion to-day. It was erected by the "Poet of the Vale." General La Fayette visited the Knickerbacker Mansion in 1825, and it is said that he occupied the southeast chamber that still contains the high-posted bedstead, adorned with canopy and valance.

Mount St. Anthony, east of the site of Fort St. Croix, was designated in memory of the first Jesuit missionary, St. Antoine, born at Padua, Italy, by the Jesuit Father accompanying Jean Allefonsce's French traders from St. Ange up the Grande River of the Mountains in 1540. St. Croix Creek was christened Walloon Creek in 1630 by the Protestant French Walloons from the Rhone Valley, although the river is known to-day as Walloomsac. At least three different towers have been built on Mount Anthony. Each has fallen before the angry blast of Boreas. Mount Anthony is now a part of Colgate's Park, adorned with winding roads with vistas along the mountain-side.

The Cave of St. Anthony is located on the northeastern slope of the mountain, and is entered by a very small fissure in the rocks, which widens after a descent of twenty feet. Later one confronts the humiliating problem of a solid wall with only a yawning arch two feet high at its base. If one would behold the glittering halls where once flowed the

glacial Lake Bascom, he must stoop and crawl in the mud like the Hoosacs' fabled turtle, *Unami*.

The Cave of Mount Æolus is located twenty-five miles northward in the Walloomsac Gap, and is similar in structure to the Cave of St. Anthony, and has been explored sixty rods. One of its halls is nine rods long and four wide, adorned with crystal pillars and containing a lakelet. During 1868, Prof. Charles H. Hitchcock and his Amherst class in geology christened Dorset Mountain, Mount Æolus. The legend reads that the old Wind King fled from the fabled halls of Stromboli in Greece, and took up his abode in the marble caves of the Taconacs. The King himself resides in Æolus Cave, and his servants, the North, South, East, and West winds, in neighboring caves. E. Parter Dyer wrote the christening chorus, sung by the students, while Professor Hitchcock broke a bottle of pure spring water on Platform Rock near the entrance of the Cave.

This Mountain grand, henceforth all men
Mount Æolus shall call,
'Till earth shall sink and loose again
The giants, mighty thrall.¹

Mount Greylock, twenty miles south of Mount Anthony, together with Equinox and Æolus, are called the "Giants of the Vale." Hawthorne² during the summer of 1838, and Thoreau³ during the summer of 1846, explored Mount Greylock. Hawthorne loved best to saunter to the Cave of the Mayoonsac Valley, north of the city of North Adams, or through the Notch to the Bellows'-Pipe, and thence down the Southern Notch to the Hathaway homestead and Quaker Meeting-house. A mile below the meeting-house he met

¹ Abby Hemingway's *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*.

² *American Note-Book*.

³ *Week on Concord and Merrimac Rivers*.

Platt, the stage-driver, who gave him a free ride to the "Whig Tavern" in the North Village.

Hawthorne describes Platt as a "lath-like, round-backed, rough-bearded, thin-visaged" fellow, who boasted that he was the first man to drive an ox-team to the summit of Greylock, when the first tower was built. He was headed by Pres. Edward Dorr Griffin of Williams College riding on horseback, and was forced to drive in a circle about the mountain with his timber. The date of the building of Griffin's Tower on Mount Greylock is unknown, although it was long before 1833, since President Griffin had a stroke of paralysis that season. However, when Hawthorne visited Notch Valley in 1838, the Tower had been destroyed a number of years.

The second tower on Greylock was built in 1841 and was known as Albert Hopkins's Meteorological Observatory. Professor Hopkins and tutor James Henry Coffin headed several "Bees" and the Hopper farmers aided in building the tower. The timber was sawed at Pettit's saw-mill on the Hopper Brook. The first story consisted of a cubical blockhouse, twenty feet square. To this were added two retreating stories of framed timber, each twenty feet high.¹

Between 1841 and 1850² barometers, self-registering thermometers, wind-registers, and other meteorological instruments were placed in the chamber of the third story. The building later fell into decay and finally burned in 1857.

Hawthorne, between July 26th and September 15, 1838, gives vivid descriptions in his *American Note-Book* of "the rude, rough, rocky, stumpy, ferny pastures" of "rugged, headlong Berkshire," where Greylock uprears his shaggy head covered with primeval forests. He considered the Hoosac Highlands a "most romantic and picturesque coun-

¹ Dr. John Bascom, *Greylock Reservation*, 1907.

² William D. Porter, Class 1850.

try." Emerson thought Greylock "a serious mountain"; and Henry Ward Beecher later said: "Such a country never ceases to astonish and please. . . . It is everlasting company to you. It is, indeed, just like some choice companion of rich heart and genial imagination, never twice alike, in mood, in conversation, in radiant sobriety, or half-bright sadness, bold, tender, deep, various."

Hawthorne often sat tilted back in his arm-chair on the porch of the North Adams House and observed the loungers about the steps. He describes "Captain Gavitt," believed to have been Capt. Jeremiah Colgrove, as a type of the pioneer Rhode Island Baptist settlers, who founded "Slab City," now North Adams. The old gentleman sold butter-nut meats and maple sugar while dispensing free philosophy on the contentment of old age.

Among other characters mentioned by Hawthorne may be named: "Little boy Joe"—a lad of four summers who lived in the street, and begged of the loungers for figs, and invariably received "quids of tobacco." The one-armed Daniel Haynes, known as "Black Hawk" and "The Elder," descended from the Haynes family of Hoosac and Bennington. He was a prosperous pettifogger until he lost his right arm through a buzz-saw. That misfortune led to his Bennington girl jilting him, after which he became the famous Recluse of Willow Dell, on the "Clay Road" at the foot of Colgrove Hill in North Adams, where he turned his talent to condensing ashes to lye as well as to the manufacturing of soft soap. His slab-hut, covered with sods, stood on the bank of the tumbling Mayoonsac; and its site was pointed out to the writer, August 19, 1903, by the late venerable Jeremiah Wilbur. As a lad of fourteen, Mr. Wilbur piloted Hawthorne through the Notch Valley to his grandfather, Jeremiah Wilbur's Bellows'-Pipe Farm. Daniel Haynes supplied Landlord James Wilbur, father of the late Jeremiah

Wilbur, with soft soap, at his tavern, now known as Richmond House, between 1829 and his death in 1848. Haynes owned two large dogs, which he hitched to a cart for the purpose of collecting grease from the villagers in exchange for soap. The blacksmith, Wetherell of Willow Dell, part of whose shops stands to-day, was regarded by Hawthorne as an interesting exemplar of the progressive Yankee. He was enormous in front as well as in the rear, and regardless of the opinions of his neighbors came regularly to the "Whig Tavern" bar to get his "toddy-sticks" of rock and rye. This was in marked contrast to the conduct of the one-armed, cowardly Haynes, whom Hawthorne later figured as "Lawyer Giles," the "elderly ragamuffin" in the tale of *Ethan Brand*, which is located about the site of Farnham's lime-kiln, at the base of Ragged Mountain.

Later, Thoreau heard much of the Notch and Bellows'-Pipe hunting-grounds from Hawthorne. During the summer of 1846, he came alone and on foot from Concord on the Merrimac over the "Forbidden Hoosac Mountain." He sauntered through the Bellows'-Pipe and thence climbed to the summit of Mount Greylock to hear the whispering winds.

And ever, if you hearken well,
You still may hear its vesper bell,
And tread of high-souled men go by,
Their thoughts conversing with the sky.¹

Thoreau described the breaking of the white light of dawn from Hopkins's Observatory on Mount Greylock, and said that when the sun began to rise, he found himself "a dweller in the dazzling halls of Aurora, into which poets have had but a partial glance over the eastern hills . . . in the very path of the Sun's chariot, enjoying the far-darting glances of the gods." He adds: "All around beneath me was spread

¹ Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*, p. 229.

for a hundred miles on every side, as far as the eye could reach, an undulating country of clouds, answering in the varied swell of its surface to the terrestrial world it veiled. It was such a country as we might see in dreams, with all the delights of paradise.”¹

The “Hopper” and the “Heart of Greylock” are located on the western slope of the range. The former is an amphitheatre resembling a miller’s hopper. It is enclosed on the north by Simonds Peak of Prospect Range and on the south by “Stony Ledge,” between which Hopper Brook² has eroded a deep pass to Green River. The soluble rock removed from the Hopper, according to Thomas Nelson Dale, the geologist, would, if inverted, form a pyramid 1500 feet high with a base a mile square.

“Stony Ledge” was known to Prof. Albert Hopkins as the “Bald-pate of the Lion Couchant,” often designated by Williamstown people as “Bald Mountain.” There are three other Bald Mountains between North Adams and Bennington. The writer ventures to rechristen the peak Mount Bascom, in memory of Dr. John Bascom of Williams College, a commissioner and a good friend of Mount Greylock Park. During 1849, Professor Hopkins led a picnic party, including Catherine Sedgwick and her Stockbridge friends, to the “Bald-pate of the Lion Couchant,” to behold the grandeur of the Berkshire Hills. Fanny Kemble once declaimed *Romeo and Juliet* to a picnic party from Hopkins’s Observatory, and Charlotte Cushman, Rose Terry Cooke, “Godfrey Greylock,” and Marion Crawford have climbed to the bald brow of the old chieftain Greylock to behold the smiles of the gods.

The dark recesses of the amphitheatre of the Hopper harbored sometime between 1765 and 1783 a gang of counter-

¹ Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*, pp. 245-246.

² See illustrations, pp. 165-175.



The Hopper Amphitheatre, Greylock Park Reservation.

Greylock, standing back of the Hopper—a Chief, seen through the open door of his tent—is a proud sentinel, a peer among the peers of the Hoosac Highlands. The Hopper is enclosed on the right by Mount Bascom, and on the left by Simonds Peak, at the western base of Greylock Range in Green River Valley.

feiters. They built their cabin on the north fork of the Hopper Brook, known as Money Brook. Here many Spanish dollars and possibly Pine-Tree shillings were hammered out. A Williamstown hunter overheard the money-makers at the anvil and reported them to Justice Samuel Kellogg, who succeeded in capturing only their chest of tools. During 1786, Caleb Gardner, son of Capt. Caleb Gardner of Hancock Tavern, was hanged at Albany for passing counterfeit Spanish dollars that were undoubtedly hammered out by the Money Brook gang.

In 1863, sixty Williams College students volunteered their services during the Civil War, including Lieut. Edward Payson Hopkins, the only child of Prof. Albert and Louise Payson Hopkins. Mrs. Hopkins died during January, 1862. Her widowed sister, Elizabeth Payson Prentiss, and her children resided for a time in Professor Hopkins's home. Mrs. Prentiss wrote *Stepping Heavenward*, *Susie's Six Birthdays*, *Aunt Jane's Hero*, and *The Home at Greylock*. The last mentioned tale is said to be descriptive of the home of Mark Hopkins in Williamstown. Helen Hunt Jackson, author of the Indian romance, *Ramona*, also frequented President Hopkins's home. She wrote a short story about the servant girl of Professor Smith from Maine and the meddlesome Deacon's wife, published in the *Demorest Monthly Magazine*. It is descriptive of a newly married Professor's home life in aristocratic Williamstown.

During the sad year 1863, Prof. Albert Hopkins organized the Alpine Club—the first organization of its kind in this country, for mountain climbing.* The White Mountain Club was organized in 1873; the Rocky Mountain Club in 1875; and the Appalachian Mountain Club in 1876. Between May 2, 1863, and November 29, 1865, the Alpine Club made fifty-six excursions. One of the interesting

* Samuel H. Scudder, *Appalachia*, iv., pp. 45-54, November 12, 1884.

papers chronicled by Professor Hopkins was entitled, *Baconian Reminiscences, or the Short and Simple Annals of the Poor House*. It describes the Club's encampment at Bacon's Poor House, located on Mount Bascom in Bacon Park, during November, 1864. Nine members ascended the steep western face of Mount Greylock. Later the Alpine Club's camp-ground was chosen by the Rev. John Denison on Camp Brook, located on the south side of Bacon Park, overlooking the "Heart of Greylock"—an amphitheatre similar to the Hopper designated by Professor Hopkins. Nearly all the places of picturesque and historic interest of the upper Hoosac were christened by Professor Hopkins and the Alpine Club, Dr. John Bascom, and Prof. Arthur Latham Perry.

The March Cataract of Bacon Brook is located in the southern portion of the Hopper. It is formed from the melting snows during March and leaps down the steep western face of Greylock over a semicircular, rocky ravine, adorned with hanging mosses. Wawbeek and Sky Falls lie in the northern portion of the Hopper. They rise on a fork of Money Brook, near the brow of Mount Fitch, and descend over 2000 feet down to the floor of the amphitheatre south of Wilbur Park. They are considered the highest permanent waterfalls in Massachusetts, and were discovered by Prof. Albert Hopkins while leading the Alpine Club in June, 1869. He says:

The falls are in a dell so deep and lonely, that to most persons they are destined to remain among the myths of Greylock. Only those who have beheld the Notch and the Inner Hopper, or Hopper within the Hopper, are able to appreciate the tremendous powers that have nearly overthrown the Chieftain Greylock himself.

A cloud-burst took place in the Hopper, which resulted in an avalanche that cleared the rocky terraces for a distance

of 1000 feet. The members of the Alpine Club visited the place, November 4, 1865. Another cloud-burst occurred on the eastern face of Greylock in August, 1902¹ that denuded the "Chieftain's-stairway" from the summit down, stair by stair to Gould's Farm in Adams.

Prof. Albert Hopkins died May 24, 1872. At that time he was preparing an illustrated book entitled *The Mountains and the Months*. It was to contain descriptive sketches from White Oaks and scenes among the Hoosac Highlands, compiled from notes made afield with the students of Williams on Mountain Days and with the members of the Alpine Club. He was borne to his grave in College Cemetery, Mission Park, just as a glorious rainbow spanned the valley from the Taconacs on the west to Alberta's Range of the Green Mountains. The bell in the tower of the Congregational Church still tolls forth to his memory: "HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH."

The late historian, Arthur Latham Perry, in the chapter "Backward and Forward," in *Williamstown and Williams College*, said that "William Dwight Whitney and John Bascom were the most scholarly men ever graduated at Williams College." Dr. Whitney became editor-in-chief of the *Century Dictionary*, completed in 1898. Dr. Bascom was best known as an orator and philosopher, and published *The Words of Christ* in 1883, *Problems in Philosophy* in 1885, and an *Historical Interpretation of Philosophy* during 1893. The latter, Professor Perry considered the "most important philosophical speculation from Pythagoras to Lotze," and one of the most valuable and comprehensive books on philosophy given to the world.

The Greylock Park Association was incorporated April 15, 1885. The capital was \$20,000, held in shares of \$25

¹ H. F. Cleland, "Landslides of Mount Greylock and Briggsville, Mass.," *Journal Geol.*, x., pp. 513-517, 1902.



*Dr. John Bascom, Orator and Philosopher, Williams College, Pioneer
Promoter and Commissioner of Greylock Park Reservation.
Died October 2, 1911.*

each. The Directors and Associate Members were citizens of Adams, North Adams, and Williamstown. The Association purchased 400 acres on the summit, and later expended \$4,425 building the North Adams Road from Walden Farm through Wilbur Park to the summit, a log cottage, barn, and the present iron tower. The Association, in the latter part of 1900, conveyed Greylock Park property to the General Court of Massachusetts for a State Park Reservation, to enclose 10,000 acres. The Legislature has appropriated in all \$91,000 toward purchasing the specified land. It is now reported that 8243 acres have already been purchased, and the Reservation extends from Raven Rock on Ragged Mountain in the Notch westward to Mount Bascom, down to the base of the Hopper, and south from Slope Norton of Prospect Range to Jones's Nose and Rounds's Rocks.

The roads of Greylock Park are nearly complete. A continuous highway extends from North Adams through the Notch over the summit, thence to Lanesboro and Pittsfield. The bald brow of the Hoosac Highlands is now encircled with a pleasure trail. A road also branches off from the Rockwell Road and meets the main road from Pittsfield to Williamstown at New Ashford Village. Another branch road leads down to the Alpine Club's camp-ground as far as the Bluffs on Mount Bascom in Bacon Park. A road from Adams is to be built westward over the summit through the Hopper, and thence along the Green River Road to Williamstown.

To the traveller standing on Simonds Peak in Wilbur Park or on Mount Bascom in Bacon Park, visions of beauty burst upon the eye as it takes in the devious windings of the little rivers in the Valley of Mingling Waters. Distant murmurs of leaping, laughing waters, falling from the Summit into the "Heart of Greylock" and Inner Hopper, together with the soft whispering tones of Wawbeek and Sky



The Arch of Truth, Front Gateway leading to the Knickerbacker Mansion, Old Schaghticoke, New York.

The Arch was erected by Joseph Foster Knickerbacker, the "Poet of the Vale," to commemorate his poem, "The Arch of Truth," in 1876. The view is that obtained from the quaint, divided door of the hall of entrance to the "Holestead" of Grandfather Knickerbacker's Manor. Originally a Dove, symbolic of the Wakon-bird—Holy Spirit Dove of the Hoosacs—was carved on the crest of the Archway.

"The Arch of Truth represented a lofty over-circled gateway or entrance to Courts of surpassing glory and adornment, and was, in its every part, a holy type of the portal opening to the abodes of Immortality."

JOSEPH FOSTER KNICKERBACKER, *A Vision: The Arch of Truth.*

Falls from a remote dell of the Hopper, are borne to the enchanted ear of the dreamer.

Mount Greylock Park, says Dr. Bascom, becomes "our daily pleasure, our constant symbol, our ever renewed inspiration, a gift to all who have a living fellowship with Nature."¹

Reformers, hurrying the Millennium's dawn
Urging to-morrow's blossom to bloom to-day,
Here gird your baffled, warring minds anew.²

¹ Dr. John Bascom, *Greylock Reservation*, 1907.

² Author unknown, *Greylock*.

THE HOOSAC VALLEY OF MINGLING WATERS

The chill and startling strokes of war no more
Disturb your blended streams with crimson oar;
And naught but peace and softened scars remain
To mark the moss-grown mounds of heroes slain.

The years of gentle time have willed it so,
And bade your mingling waters leap and flow
From out the "Heart of Greylock's" brotherhood;
To bless the hallowed "Vale of Peace" where stood

The warriors reared in this calm solitude,
Who gave their lives to serve a nation's good.
Here, let these rivulets forever flow;
Drink from the highland domes the melting snow;

Drain from the dark ravines and hollows near,
The mountain cascades, flowing soft and clear;
Lead Sorrow's children upward to your source;
Unfold the joyous secrets of your course.

The highest land of Hoosac's noble hills
Shall sweetly ring with song and louder trills;
And many a spring within the "Bellows'" dumb,
Shall swell and flow with swift yet soothing hum.

Oft gentle Soquon, of Great Soquis' race,
Sang in the "Bellows'" holy hunting-place;
Where Onetho,¹ the phantom chieftain, hies,
Wielding the lightning weapons of the skies.

¹ Bryant, *Legend of the Delawares and Mahicans*.

The Hoosac Valley

And where devious Hoosac rolls his floods,
The Homer of the New Arcadian woods
First touched Apollo's true-toned lyre,
And sang of Death with faith's undying fire.

Here Mother Nature taught from year to year,
The willing heart and mind of many a seer;
Dear storied *Tanglewood* of Hawthorne's day,
And *Ethan Brand* were moulded from this clay.

And Wisdom's voicing pen, in Thoreau's hand,
Has made us love these hills and understand
Their value, in the universe of things;
And hold them in our minds like echoings.

Here 'neath New Antioch's glowing arch of peace,
Great seers have striven for a world's release.
"What art is theirs, the written spells to find
That sway from mood to mood the willing mind!"¹

'T is here the poets of all nations bring
The autumn's oaken-branch—the bloom of spring;
Calumet and *Swastik*—tributes hung in air,
Around Mills's "Haystack" mission-shrine of prayer.

Roll on fair Hoosac with Orontean's song;
Flow peacefully through all the centuries long
To that unbounded shore—Eternity!
That God decrees alike for man and thee.

GRACE GREYLOCK NILES.

¹ Bryant, *The Poet*.

NOTES

I

INDIAN ORIGINS OF THE HUDSON, HOOSAC, HOUSATONAC, AND MOHAWK VALLEYS

ABENAKIS DEMOCRACY¹

(Wappanachki)
Men of the East
Warriors of the Rising Sun
Eastlanders

IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY

(Aquinoshioni-Koneoshioni)
Men of the West
Warriors of the Flint
Cabin-Makers

LENAPE-WYANDOTTE RACES

(Unami-Antinathin)
Turtle Mother-tongue
of
Delaware-Huron Mochomes
(Abenakis-Iroquois Grandfathers)
(ALGONQUIN RACE)

The Abenakis Democracy¹ and the Iroquois Confederacy originally contained three great totemic cantons of warriors, subdivided into several tribes. The former nation included the Turtle grandfathers of Great Unami, the Bears of Great Soqui, and the Wolves of Great Minsi. They resided in the Delaware, Hudson, Champlain, Connecticut, and St. Lawrence basins of New Netherland, New England, and New France. The Iroquois Nation contained the Turtle grandfathers of Great Antinathin, the Bears of Great Maquaas, and the Wolves of Great Enanthayonni. They occupied the Lake Huron and Mohawk-Hudson basins in New France and New Netherland west of the Hudson-Champlain divide. The Iroquois were hereditary enemies of the Abenakis warriors from time immemorial. The Abenakis king and councillors occupied the Hudson, Hoosac, and Housatonac valleys; and the Iroquois king and councillors occupied the Mohawk and Cohohahoohra (West Canada Creek) valleys. They met their enemies on the field of contest in the Taconac and Green Mountains and laid claim to the neutral hunting-grounds of Lake Champlain region. The origin of Unami-Antinathin musical mother-tongue² is still unknown.

¹ Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, pp. 18-20.

² The Abenakis and Iroquois names of places contain descriptive phrases according to prefix or affix:

DELAWARE-MAHICAN NAMES

| | |
|---|--|
| Ukhkopecck | Traditional country of the Lenni-Lenape Snake and Turtle grandfathers in the Orient. |
| Mohegoneck Mahicansac | The Delaware and Mahican country in the Occident. |
| Wappanachki Abenakis (Abnakes) | The "white light of sunrise" signifying: Eastlanders, Men of the East, Warriors of the Rising Sun, Occidentals. |
| Lenni-Lenapes Mochomes Minquas (Great Unami) | The "original and unmixed people" of Great Unami or Turtle Race. They were recognized as Mochomes (grandfathers) of the Abenakis De- |
| Ac, ack, ic, ick, uc, uck, oc, ock, ing, ah, ea, eck, wa, wagh, wog, ra, etc. (Hoo-sac, Housatonac, Mayoonsac, Taconac, etc.) | Affixes signifying place or location. The affix <i>ac</i> has been uniformly adopted by the author for Hoosac and Housatonac names. |
| Wa, wauw, wagh (Wanalancet, Wigow-wauw, great sachem; Asha-wagh, land between Wi-gow-wauws) | Affixes or prefixes signifying sachem or chieftain, and their land. |
| Ho, hoo, hooh, hous, uk-hooh, co-hooh (Hoo-sac, Hoosatonac, Housatonac) | Prefixes signifying owl or orator's land or rivers. |
| Co, ti, ca, ko, ga, go (Coos, Cohoes, and Ticonderoga) | Prefixes denoting cascade or waterfalls. |
| Os, oes Wi, we (Coos, Cooesac, Cohoes, Hooes, Hooesac) | Small or little. Great or broad. Cohoes Falls, Hooesac Falls. (Little Falls). |
| (Cohoesac, Cohohatatea) On Tar Asto Atea Cohoha, Cahoh, Gahoh | Hudson Valley beyond Cohoes Falls. Hill. Rocky. Narrow pass or ravine. Landscape or valley. Cradle-hollows or pot-holes (Leaping waters). |

(Great Soqui)
(Great Minsi)

Algonquin Race

Waum-theet
Mon-nit-toow
Manitou
Manetho
Onetho

Mton-toow
Hobbamocko
Bachtamo

Ken-ti-kaw¹
Kinte-Kaye²

Wi-gow-wauw
(Great Sachem)

Sachem
Sakémo
Saké-ma
Sagamore
(Chieftain)

We-ko-wohm
(Castle)

mocracy. They resided about Delaware Bay and their grandsons of Great Soqui and Great Minsi, known as Noochwissacs (grandchildren), occupied the Hudson and Connecticut valleys in the mountains.

A French Jesuit term, signifying, "musical mother-tongue" of the Lenni-Lenapes and their grandsons of the Abenakis Democracy.

Great Spirit, God of the Heavens, Promoter of peace and welfare from the Country of Souls beyond the Sea.

A fabled tortoise, the evil spirit, devil, or fiend of calamity, worshipped as the god of thunder.

War-dance, known as devil-dance, observed before advancing against an enemy. First observed by the Christians at "Dans Kammer"² (dance-chamber) at Newburgh Point on the Hudson.

King of the Abenakis Democracy. After the death of the Great Sachem, one of his nephews (if he have any on his sister's side) was appointed to succeed him instead of his own sons or brother's sons.

The sachem, chieftain, and petty-sagamore were subject to the Great Sachem in all national questions of war or peace.

The Wigwam, or castle of the Great Sachem, was built by the Abenakis Nation at Chescodonta Hill and

¹ Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*.

² Ruttenber's *Indian Tribes of Hudson River*, p. 28.

Passaconaway
 Uncus
 Aepjen
 (Great Soqui)

Woh-weet-quan-pe-chee
 (Councillors)

Schodac, the site of Albany and Castleton on the Hudson, and later at Skatecook-site of Sheffield on the Housatonac.

Great Sachems of Abenakis Democracy. The Bear canton of Great Soqui was considered highest in dignity, and the king and his cabinet of councillors were chosen from the royal families of this race. The Great Sachem received no stated salary, although the warriors of the Democracy rendered tribute or taxes annually at the Festival of the Harvest Moon of Autumn and the Festival of the New Moon of Spring. He was supplied with a long We-ko-wohm, castle large enough to entertain the nation's councillors and wise men and priests from afar. *Muk-sens* (moccasins), skins, blankets, baskets, bags, and piles of corn and beans were rendered as the nation's tribute. The ancient medicine-bag, containing Hebrew Scriptures, Calumet, wampum belts, remained at the Great Sachem's castle. It descended with his office to his successor. After the death of a Great Sachem, the nation considered "their light put out," and mourned under dark clouds until another king was appointed by the vote of the warriors and councillors of the Democracy. He must be peaceable and exhort his people to live in unity. He could be removed, if he failed to behave agreeable to his oath of office to his people. King Uncus and Passaconaway were evidently dethroned and banished and succeeded by King Aepjen.

The cabinet of the Great Sachem.

Un-nuh-kan-kun
(Runner)
(Great Soqui)

Secretary and messenger of the Great Sachem. He resided at the national castle of the nation, and guarded the Mno-ti (bag of peace), containing wampum-belts, the Calumets, and other symbols of friendship. He was required to light the Calumet for the Great Sachem and deliver all messages of peace. He must above all be honest and trustworthy, or his feathers could be removed and another appointed to the office.

Soquon
Uk-hooh-que-thoth
(Owl-sachem)
(Great Soqui)

Owl or Orator of the Abenakis Democracy. The office was won by wisdom and merit and required a good memory, for the orator recorded the nation's historic traditions. He resided in the Uk-hooh-sac, or Hoosac Valley.

Soquis
Sequin

War-whoop of the Hoosac Bears of Great Soqui.

Maquon
Maquon-pauw
(Hero-sachem)
(Great Minsi)

Hero or Emperor's office of the Democracy was won only through merit and bravery. The Hero sat with the Great Sachem and his councillors at all national councils held at Schodac Castle. His vote served to confirm their agreements. He was beloved by the warriors of the nation. In warfare the Hero became their brave and prudent leader. Great Minsi, or Wolf canton, next to Great Soqui or Bear canton, comprised the bravest warriors of the nation. Maquon's Mahicansacs occupied Mœnemin's Castle below Cohoes Falls of the Mohawk Valley, and Soquon's Soquonsacs or Hoosacs occupied Unuwat's Castle, on the east bank of the Hudson. They guarded the war-trails leading from the Iroquois Con-

federacy to the Abenakis king's Schodac Castle.

Mahican

The war-whoop of Maquon's warriors of Great Minsi, or Wolf Race, who bore the totem of a supernatural wolf, from which arose their canton's designation. At first they resided on the West bank of the Hudson, south of the Mohawk castles.

Mahingan

French-Algonquin name for Loup (wolf or dog).

Myegan

Schaghticoke and St. Francis warriors' name for wolf in Nebraska and Dakota.

Maihtshow

Stockbridge's name for wolf in Wisconsin.

Delawares
Mohegans
Algonquins

Present names of mixed Turtle, Wolf, and Bear warriors of New York, New England, and New France.

Loups
(Dogs)

The French Jesuits called all the Abenakis warriors of New York and New England Loups, or dogs, now called *Mohegans*.

ANCIENT NAMES OF HUDSON VALLEY

Mohegoneck
Mahicansac
Muhhekaneck
Muhheakunnuck
Mohegansac

The "ebbing and flowing river" of the Lenni-Lenapes.

Mahicantuck

The Minquas' and Minces' name for the Heroes' or Mahicansacs' Valley.

Mahikander

The Hoosacs' or Soquonsacs' name for Aepjen's Schodac River.

Cohohatatea

The Iroquois name for the Mahicansacs' River, according to John Bleeker's translation in 1811, reported to Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell. The name refers to the Hudson Valley, lying beyond the Cohoes Falls of the Mohawk's Valley of Leaping, Laughing Waters.

Shatemuck

The Mahicansac was known as Shaita-Pelican or Sea-gull River, according to Sachem Odjibioa.

Skeetecook
(Stillwaters)

The Hudson was known as the River of Still-Waters, near the site of Skeetecook Village, at the junction of the Hoosac with the Hudson, opposite Stillwater Village.

Grande Rio De Montagne
(Grand River)

Grand River of the Mountains, according to Verrazzano's map, prepared by King Francis II. of France in 1524. Jean Allefonsce's traders from St. Ange, France, in 1540-1542, and Henry Hudson and his English and Dutch crew of the *Half Moon* in 1609-1610, refer to the Mahicansac as the Grande River of the Mountains.

Mariritius
(Orange River)

The Grande River was rechristened Mariritius River by the Dutch Boers and French Walloons between 1614-1624, in honor of Prince Maurice of Nassau and Orange.

Hudson River

After the English conquest of New Netherland, the Orange River was rechristened Hudson's River in honor of the first English navigator, Henry Hudson, who with the Hollanders explored the stream in 1609.

North River

The Hudson River in 1664 was

The Hoosac Valley

known as North River in order to distinguish it from the Delaware River, known as South River, and from the Varsch or Connecticut, known as East River.

ANCIENT NAMES OF HOOSAC VALLEY

Soquonsac

Valley of the Owl-Sachem Soquon of Great Soqui Race.

Pauw-Hooh-sac

Pan-Hoo-sac

Hoosac

Uk-hooh-pauw's—the Owl's or Orator's hunting-grounds beyond the Co-ho-ha-ta-tea, or Hudson Valley east of Cohoes Falls of the Mohawk River.

Skatecook

Schaghticoke

(Valley of Mingling Waters)

(Hoosac-Housatonac)

A term signifying "mingling waters" or the confluence of streams. After the removal of the Abenakis Democracy's Council-Fire from Scho-dac on the Hudson to the Housatonac Valley in 1664, the new national name of Skatecook was adopted for the Capital and the warriors were known as Schaghticokes.

Ash-a-wagh

Nash-a-wog

Terms signifying the land between the sources of two rivers and two Wauws or sachems.

Nich-a-wagh

Etch-o-wog

Lake Ashawagh and boglands, between the sources of Hoosac and Walloomsac rivers, at the base of the Dome in Pownal, Vermont.

Nack-te-nack

Nach-a-quick-quaak

Islands between the junction or at the confluence of two rivers.

Ashuwillticook

Ahashewaghkick

(Ashawagsac)¹

South Branch of the Hoosac, rising in the Ashawagh hills between the headwaters of the Hoosac and Housatonac rivers.

¹ The latter name has been retained since it is easily pronounced.

Mayunsook
Mayunsac
(Mayoonsac)

North Branch of the Hoosac, rising on Ashawagsac Mountain in Vermont, between the headwaters of the Hoosac and Deerfield rivers.

Wampanicksepoet
Wampansac
(Green River)

A south branch of Hoosac River, rising in the Ashawagh hills between the Hoosac and Housatonac headwaters.

Wicomsac
Broadsac
(Broad Brook)

A north branch of the Hoosac, rising in the Dome and Mount Hazen of Green Mountains in Vermont.

Hoosac
(Little Hoosac)

A south branch of the Hoosac, rising in the Ashawagh hills between the Hoosac and Kinderhook headwaters in Berlin, New York.

Wa-nepimo-seek
Nepimo
Nepimoresac
Nipmuth Creek
(Shingle Hollow Brook)

A west branch of the Hoosac River, rising on Rensselaer Plateau between the headwaters of the Hoosac and Tomhannac rivers, in Hoosac, New York. Residence of the sachem, or sakémo, of the Mahicans.

Swastikasac
St. Croix-sac
Walloon Creek
(Walloomsac)¹

The east branch of Hoosac River, known as St. Croix, was first settled by French Walloons, from which arose the name Walloomsac. It rises in the Dome and Lake Ashawagh, of Pownal, and in Woodford, Vt.

Uk-Hoohsac
Owlsac
(Owl Kill)

A north branch of the Hoosac, rising in the Ashawagh hills between the headwaters of the Hoosac and Batten Kill Rivers in New York. The Owl's sacrificial altar to Great Manitou and Hobbamocko was located below the junction of the Owl Kill with the Hoosac River.

Toh-kone-ac

A south branch of the Hoosac, ris-

¹The name is a corruption of *Walloonsac*.

Taconac
Tomhannock
(Tomhannac Creek)

ing in the Hoosac Lake District on Rensselaer Plateau between the headwaters of the Hoosac and Kinderhook rivers in Grafton, New York.

Dwaasac
(Dwaas Kill)

A west branch of the Hoosac, near its junction with the Hudson. The Dutch name signifies "flowing both ways." "Kill" is a corruption of "kerk" and refers to St. Anthony's mission chapel, built near St. Anthony Kill, south of the Dwaas Kill.

ANCIENT NAMES OF HOUSATONAC VALLEY

Ausotunnoog
Ousetonuck
Housatunnuk
(Housatonac)

The Housatonac River has many spellings, corrupted by the English, Dutch, and Moravian missionaries. It is a name descriptive of the Abenakis Democracy's national council-fireplace at Skatecook (Sheffield) which lies east, beyond Schodac and Cohoes castles of the Hudson. It also refers to the over-mountain Valley of Mingling Waters beyond the Owl's Hoosac Valley, and should be spelled *Hoosatonac* instead of Housatonac.

Toh-kone-ac
Tar-co-on-ac
Tagh-kan-ac
K'ta-kanatatshan
(Taconac)

The name for Taconac Mountains arose from the term Tohkoneac, first used to designate a large spring with a rocky bottom near Copake Lake on Livingston's "Taghkanic Tract," west of the main Taconac Range. The Moravian missionaries corrupted the name later and designated the Dome—the great woodsy mountain east of Shekomeko, Dutchess County, N. Y.—*K'takanatatshan*, signifying "great, woodsy rocky mountain." The name Taconac is now applied to the entire range from Dutchess County, N. Y., north to Addison County, Vt.

Skatecook
Schaghticoke
(Sheffield)

A term signifying the confluence of two streams, from which arose "Valley of Mingling Waters," applied to both the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys. King Aepjen adopted the name Skatecook in 1664 for the site of his national council-fire about the junction of Wampanicksepoot, Green River, with the Housatonac River, now the site of Sheffield, Mass.

Wnogh-que-too-koke
Wnahktukook
Westenhuck
(Stockbridge)

The Moravian missionaries under Count Zinzendorf corrupted the names, Wi-gow-wauw (Great Sachem) and Skatecook to Westenhuck. The English in 1739 incorporated the town Stockbridge, and the Schaghticoke of the Housatonac became known as Stockbridges.

Aepjen-a-hican

King of the Abenakis Democracy. He located in Housatonac Valley in 1664 and was discovered by the English missionaries, Jonathan Sergeant and Samuel Hopkins, in 1734.

Nana-apenahican Creek

A small stream rising about "Monument Mountain." King Aepjen's national Wekowohm (wigwam or castle) was built on this stream. The prefix, *Nana*, is the plural for bears and wolves, *Aepjen* (bear) and *Hican* (wolf) denoting that the Mahican warriors of the west bank of the Hudson joined Aepjen's bears on the east bank.

Wampanicksepoot
(Green River)

The place of wampum or small bugle-shells, used as the Abenakis Democracy's money or as coins interwoven in peace belts.

Mah-kee-nac
(Stockbridge Bowl)

A small lake christened by Catherine Sedgwick, as the "Bowl."

Wawanaquassick
Wachankasigh
Mauswaseekhi
(Monument Mountain)

Deowkook
(Rattlesnake Mountain)

Skoon-keek-moon-keek
(Lake Pontoosac)

Lake Pontoosac
Lake Onota

Tawasentha
(Burial-field)

Kokapot

Yokum
(Soquon) ?

Umpachene

Occum
(Uncum)

The "Hill of the Great Stone-heaps," known as "Fisher's-Nest" and commemorated in Bryant's poem, *Monument Mountain*.

Wolves' Hill, occupied by the Mahican or wolf warriors.

King Aepjen's hunting-ground for winter deer, now Pittsfield neighborhood.

The "winter hunting-ground for deer," in Pittsfield.

The Abenakis king's Tawasentha (Vale of the many dead) was located in both the Hoosac and Housatonac valleys. About *Hobbamocko's* or Devil's Chimney on the Hoosac and about Indian Hill near Lake Onota many "weapons of rest" and mouldering bones have been unearthed.

Successor of King Aepjen (?). He was of the lineage of Ukhkopeck-Snake and Turtle grandfathers of Great Unami.

The Uk-hooh (?) (Owl, or Orator, of Great Soqui).

The Maquon-pauw, or Hero, of the Abenakis Nation, successor of Maquon of the Hudson and Hoosac valleys.

The Unnuhkankun, or Runner (?), a messenger.

ANCIENT NAMES OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY

Hodesanne

Traditional native country of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Kayingehaga

The Valley of Leaping, Laughing Waters, between Cohoes Falls on the Mohawk and Niagara Falls, on the St. Lawrence River.

Aquinoshioni
Koneoshioni
Angiehorons
(Iroquois)

The name of the Iroquois Confederacy arose from a French Jesuit term adopted to distinguish the Warriors of Flint, whose Owl began his palaver with *IIro*—I say or have said,—combined with the affix, *Köne*, expressing joy or sorrow, indicated respectively by the long and by the short accent.

Wyandottes
(Mochomes)
(Great Antinathin)
(Great Maquaas)
(Great Enanthayonni)

The "original and unmixed people" of Great Antinathin or Turtle fathers. They resided about Lakes Huron and Erie and became the grandfathers of the Noochwissacs—grandchildren of Great Maquaas and Great Enanthayonni or Bear and Wolf warriors, occupying the Mohawk and Hudson basin.

Angiehorons
Angiers
Mohaquas
(Great Maquaas)

The French and Algonquin designation for the Warriors of the Flint, occupying the Mohawk Valley above Cohoes Falls.

Maquaas
Mohogs
Mohawks

The Dutch and English designations for the Bear and Wolf warriors of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Cahohaisenhonone
(Great Maquaas)
(Great Enanthayonni)

Agonerrhorons and Cahohaisenhonons—the Bear and Wolf warriors of the Flint. The Iroquois king and his councillors resided between Cohoes Falls and Cohohahohra Falls, now known as Trenton Falls on West Canada Creek, a north branch of the Mohawk River. The Gahahohpauw, or Owl, of the Confederacy occupied the Cohohahohra hunting-grounds between East and West Canada Creek, known as the Royal Grant.

Ganeagaono
Gahahoose or Cohohaose

The Maquaas' hunting-ground of the Mohawk Valley above Cohoes Falls.

Agonerorhorons
Gahahoose
Skohare

Names of the villages and castles of the Iroquois king and councillors of the Bear and Wolf races, about Schonowe Meadows, known to the Dutch as Great Flats, on the site of Schenectady.

Canassatiego

The Gahahoooh-pauw (Owl or Orator) of Great Maquaas.

Canassishoro

The valley of the Gahahoooh, or Owl.

Canastagiowna

The great maize-fields of the Gahahoooh-pauw, or Owl.

Co-ho-hah or Cahoh
Gahohahoose
(Cohoes Falls)

Cradle-hollows, pot-holes, or rocking, leaping, laughing motion of a canoe leaping the Cohoes Cataract with a warrior and his squaw. The legend led to the name Cohoes Falls, signifying "ship-wrecked canoe," of the Mohawk Falls.

Great Antinathin
(Huron Mochomes)

The Master of Life,—God of Thunder. Fabled Wyandotte Turtle grandfathers.

Tharony-jargon
(Hiawatha)

The Holder of the Heavens, controlling the lightning weapons of the sky, and the Moodus, or jargon, upheavals during earthquakes, and the thunder during hurricanes.

Legend of the Iroquois Confederacy
(Huron-Mohawks)

The Iroquois myth claimed that their fabled Turtle grandfathers of Great Antinathin, like the giants of Roman mythology, were confined beneath the mountains—the Laurentian Highlands, near the site of Niagara Falls and Oswego Falls, until St. Hiawatha released the old Huron Wyandotte

and Erie Turtles. A jargon upheaval followed and the ancient Cambrian Sea receded south and west. Hiawatha¹ then bade the Six Nations of the Confederacy march down the Valley of Leaping, Laughing Waters until they met their enemies—the Wappanachki Men of Great Unami—at Chescodonta, the site of Albany Capitol on the Mahicansac River, now known as Hudson River. Here the Hoosac Bears of the Abenakis Democracy and the Mohawk Bears of the Iroquois Confederacy fought for their right to hang their kettles and kindle their national council-fires until dispersed by the invading Christian armies between 1615 and 1815.

II

[Pages 121, 130]

LIEUT. JOHN CATLIN'S LETTERS ABOUT FORT MASSACHUSETTS
SUPPLIES²

FORT MASSACHUSETTS.

Augt ye 3, 1745.

Hond Sir These are to informe that I have persequant to your desire ben Down to ye Duch and in the first place made up a Counts with Mr Vanasee & find deu to him 2-4-6 in there money he hath disposed of but tow hids and the tallow Sir I pos to informe you the Surcomstances we are in I carried With me 258 lb Weight of Pork and found ye Stores thirtee pounds of Beef and Brad to last to ye 22 of July I found three Skipel of flour in the Stores and sence found Whare Bardwell had brought 20 Skipel more we have fetched up 17 all Ready Sir I find that the Rum hath ben very Slipry trade but how much hath ben Sold to perticulr men I Cant yet tel. Sir the ox we kild on ye 29 July the Weight 475 lb the quantity of Pork that Bardwell Spake of I have ben to see

¹ Longfellow's *Hiawatha* of the Iroquois, similar to Bryant's *Onetho* in his *Legends of the Delawares and Mahicans*.

(Holder of the Heavens—Huron Turtles.)

(Master of the lightning-arrows of the sky of Delaware Turtles.)

² Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 109, 110, 113.

and find that thare is about 400 lb weight Which is the Whol I can Sight of att preasant the price three pence half peny per pound Mr Vanness will let me have 800 lb Weight in December att the same price further I have tried the best of my skill to git Wheat and shall now Let you know how I can have it Mr Vanness demands 29 per Skipel he giting it ground & delivering it att his house the pay may be made to his Son att New York in Rum or any other att the markit price. further Mr Hawks att the firt house will Let me have one 100 lb skipel of old Wheat att 2 s 6 d per skipel and Will git it ground and brought to his house a mile nier to us his pay must be in mony Saveing 2 pare of stockings and 2 pare of Shoes: Sir I now Wait for your orders which to take the last Whet mentioned is Chepist but thare is no man that Can Supply in all we want like Vanness; Sir the price of Rum I Cant yet know but in a fornits time Vanase Son will be up from New York and he will then let me know. the Want of money oblidges me to stand with my finger in my mouth ware the money here things might be had much chepier Plese to send Bardwell as soun as possiable for the Care of the work att the fort and giting the provisions I find is hard Sir there id difficulty Respecting ye Wheat that Bardwell Bought forsbury sayeth that he was to take the wheat before it was ground and Charges 3 pence per Bushil for giting it ground & brought to his house Salt cant be had on this side of Albany and brought one horse Sir we are in healt & yours att command

JOHN CATLIN 2ND.

FORT MASSACHUSETTS.

Augt ye 5. 1745.

Sir Since I wrote the account of my proceedings consarning the wheat Mr. Vanness has been with me, and tels me that if you will take all the wheat you want of him that he will take our money and the same price as mentioned before. Sir, I have this day a large family from the Duch, and one man offers me whete for 2:5 per skipel ithere one or 200 skipel to be delivered in flower at the first house (undoubtedly Van Derrick's house a mile south of Petersburg Junction). Another of them will let me enough to pay for a sute of broad cloth for 2:6 per skipel to be delivered at the same house in flower.

As good care of the beare hath been taken as if your honour were here, bot for the want of salt I feare some of it will spile. One skipel of salt is the howle we can git till we go to Albany for it.

We are informed by an Indian from Crown Point that one of the sculks that kiled Phips at the greate meadow received his death wound and died att Crown Point. We are all well and in good spirits, and make tho we scout every day no discovery att present.

Sir, I am yours to serve

JOHN CATLIN 2D.

III

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FIRST MUSTER-ROLL OF FORT MASSACHUSETTS¹

A MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE UNDER THE
COMMAND OF EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JUN'R, CAPTAIN, VIZ., DECEMBER 10,
1745, TO JUNE 9, 1746

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| Jonathan Bridgman | Cent'l | Dec'r 10 | June 9 |
| Moses Scott | " | " | " |
| John Perry | " | " | " |
| Eben'r Dickinson | " | " | Feb. 28 |
| John Danelson | " | " | " |
| Elijah Graves | " | " | June 9 |
| Samuel Goodman | " | " | " |
| Joseph Kellogg | " | " | " |
| Aaron Kidder | " | " | " |
| Zebulon Allin | " | " | " |
| Nath'l Ranger | " | " | " |
| Jonathan Stone | " | " | Feb. 27 |
| John Guiford | " | " | June 9 |
| Stephen Stow | " | " | " |
| Daniel Smead | " | " | " |
| Samuel Taylor | " | " | Feb. 11 |
| David Warner | " | " | Feb. 24 |
| Luke Smith | " | " | Feb. 20 |
| Elear Hawks, Jun'r | " | Feb. 21 | June 9 |
| Gad Corse | " | Dec. 10 | Feb. 24 |
| Nathaniel Brooks | " | April 15 | June 9 |
| Connewoon Hoondeloo | " | Dec. 10 | Feb. 24 |
| Eben'r Miller, Jun'r | " | " | " |
| Gershorm Hawks | " | Feb. 20 | June 9 |
| John Mighills | " | Dec. 10 | " |
| Moses Adams | " | " | " |
| Joseph Petty | " | " | Feb. 15 |
| Patrick Ray | " | " | June 9 |
| Amos Stiles | " | " | " |
| Barnard Wilds | " | " | " |
| Jedidiah Winehall | " | " | Feb. 15 |
| Aaron Ferry | " | " | " |
| Parker Pease | " | " | Feb. 26 |
| Thomas Miller | " | " | " |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 117.

| | | | |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|
| Abner Aldrich | Cent'l | Dec. 10 | June 7 |
| Ezekiel Foster | " | " | June 9 |
| John Cochran | " | " | " |
| Thomas Foot | " | " | Jan. 30 |
| John Newton | " | " | Mar. 30 |
| Richard Wallis | " | Mar. 31 | June 9 |
| John Conally | " | Dec. 10 | Feb. 27 |
| Samuel John | " | " | June 9. |

IV

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE
UNDER THE COMMAND OF SERGT. JOHN HAWKS, WHO
WERE TAKEN WITH HIM AT FORT MASSACHUSETTS,
AUG. 20, 1746¹

| | Rank | Residence | Deceased | Returned | Weeks and Days | Per Month |
|-------------------------|----------|---------------|------------------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------|
| John Hawks | Sergt. | Deerfield | | Aug. 23, 1747 | 52 5 | 33/s. |
| John Norton | Chaplain | Line of Forts | | " " " | " " | " |
| Stephen Scott | Soldier | Sunderland | | Aug. 26, 1747 | 53 1 | " |
| David Warren | " | " | | " " " | " " | " |
| John Smead Sen. | " | Pequog | | Aug. 31, 1747 | 53 6 | " |
| John Smead Jun. | " | " | Deceased | Apr. 7, 1747 | 33 0 | " |
| Daniel Smead | " | " | " | May 13, 1747 | 38 1 | " |
| John Perry | " | Fall Town | | Aug. 26, 1747 | 53 1 | " |
| Moses Scott | " | " | | " " " | " " | " |
| Joseph Scott | " | Hatfield | | Sept. 27, 1747 | 57 5 | " |
| Nathaniel Ames | " | Marlborough | Died | Nov. 17, 1746 | 12 6 | " |
| Josiah Read | " | Rehoboth | " | Aug. 21, 1746 | 2 | " |
| Samuel Lovatt | " | Mendon | " | Jan. 23, 1747 | 22 3 | " |
| Samuel Goodman | " | Hadley | " | Mar. 21, 1747 | 30 4 | " |
| Amos Pratt | " | Westborough | " | Apr. 12, 1747 | 33 5 | " |
| Nathaniel Hitchcock | " | Springfield | " | May 22, 1747 | 39 3 | " |
| Jacob Sheppard | " | Westboro | " | May 30, 1747 | 40 4 | " |
| Phineas Forbush | " | " | " | July 16, 1747 | 47 2 | " |
| Jonathan Bridgman | " | Sunderland | " | July 21, 1747 | 48 0 | " |
| John Aldrich | " | Mendon | (Left sick) | } Since returned but can't say the time. | | |
| Pd. by the Treasurer | | | | | | |
| Benjamin Simonds | " | Ware River | (Left sick at ye hos- pital) | | | |
| Pd. | | | | | | |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 187-188.

Hampshire SS. DEERFIELD, Sept. 19, 1749.

Then John Hawks personally appearing made oath that the preceding roll contains an account of the men taken with him at Fort Massachusetts, Aug. 20, 1746, and also an account of their decease, and return to their several homes.

Before William Williams, *Just. Pacis*.

The following women and their children taken captive at Fort Massachusetts died as follows¹:

| | | |
|--|------|---------------|
| Miriam Scott, wife of Moses Scott | Died | Dec. 11, 1746 |
| Rebecca Perry, wife of John Perry | " | Dec. 23, 1746 |
| Moses Scott (two years old), son of Moses Scott | " | Feb. 11, 1747 |
| Mary Smead, wife of John Smead, Sr. | " | Mar. 29, 1747 |
| Captivity Smead (9 months old), daughter of John Smead, Sr. | " | May 17, 1747 |

The surviving captives² of Fort Massachusetts returned to Boston, August 16, 1747, according to Rev. John Norton's Journal,³ published under the title, *The Redeemed Captive*, by the printer, Daniel Fowle, Queen Street, Boston, in 1748. Gen. E. Hoyt of Deerfield in preparing his *Antiquarian Researches* in 1824 quoted from Norton's Journal. General Hoyt died in 1850 and Norton's Journal passed down to the Pomeroy family and all traces of the MS. are now lost. These were the redeemed captives:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Sergt. John Hawks | Resided in Deerfield until death in 1784. |
| Rev. John Norton | " " East Hampton, Ct., until death in 1778. |
| Stephen Scott | |
| David Warren | |
| John Perry | " " Putney, Vt., where he in company with Philip Alexander and Michael Gilson built Fort Putney. |
| Joseph Scott | |
| John Aldrich | |
| Moses Scott | |
| Benjamin Simonds | " " Williamstown until death in 1807. |
| John Smead, Sr. | " " Pequog (Athol) until death Oct., 1747. |
| Mary Smead | } Children of John Smead, Sr. |
| Elihu Smead | |
| Simon Smead | |
| Ebenezer Scott | Son of Moses Scott. |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 179-185.

² *Ib.*, p. 189.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 124-185.

V

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RECRUITING MUSTER ROLL OF GARRISON SOLDIERS OF FORT MASSACHUSETTS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, AUGUST 20, 1746, MANY OF WHOM SERVED IN THE SECOND FORT IN 1747.¹

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| Ephraim Williams, Jr. | Capt. | Stockbridge |
| Elisha Hawley | Lieut. | Northampton |
| Daniel Severance | Lieut. | Fawl Town |
| Caleb Chapin | Sergt. | Fawl Town |
| Elisha Chapin | Sergt. | Springfield |
| Nathaniel Eustis | Sergt. | Goare |
| Adonijah Atherton | Sergt. | Deerfield |
| Ebenezer Gould | Sergt. | Chelmsford |
| Charles Parmeter | Sergt. | Sudbury |
| Jonathan Stone | Sergt. | Leicester |
| Abraham Bass | Sergt. | Worcester |
| John Hooker | Gunner | Hatfield |
| Richard Treat | Chaplain | Sheffield |
| Phineas Nevers | Surgeon | Deerfield |
| Isaac Wyman | Clerk | Woburn |
| Ebenezer Reed | Cent. | Simsbury |
| Barnard Wilds | " | Rodetown |
| Edmond Town | " | Framingham |
| John Harris | " | London |
| Thomas Waubun | " | Sherburn |
| Micah Harrington | " | Western |
| Benj'n Gould | " | Woburn |
| William Williston | " | Rehoboth |
| Esack Johnson | " | Rehoboth |
| Charles Winton | " | Oxbridge |
| James Hathon | " | Ireland |
| Richard Staudley | " | Loudon |
| Abner Roberts | " | Sutton |
| Jonathan Barren | " | Westfield |
| Timothy Hollen | " | Sutton |
| Moses Attucks | " | Leicester |
| John Crofford | " | Western |
| Daniel Ward | " | Upton |
| William Sabin | " | Brookfield |
| Fortu's Taylor | " | Leicester |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 213-214.

| | | |
|------------------|-------|-------------|
| Silas Pratt | Cent. | Shrewsbury |
| Charles Coats | " | Deerfield |
| Seth Hudson | " | Marlborough |
| Samuel Abbot | " | Hardwick |
| Ithamar Healey | " | Rehoboth |
| John Barnard | " | Waltham |
| John Morison | " | Colrain |
| John Henry | " | Colrain |
| John Martin | " | Sudbury |
| Ezekiel Wells | " | Rodetown |
| Samuel Wells | " | Rodetown |
| George Quaquagid | " | New London |
| Thomas George | " | New London |
| Ebenezer Graves | " | Deerfield |
| John Bush | " | Summers |
| John Taylor | " | Long Island |
| Conawoca Delow | " | Deerfield |
| John Harmon | " | Deerfield |
| Nath. Brooks | " | Deerfield |
| Stephen Collier | " | Oxford |
| Jonathan Ennis | " | Summers |
| John Perkins | " | Summers |
| Aaron Denio | " | Deerfield |
| Benj'n Hastings | " | — |
| Benj'n Fassett | " | Westford |
| Benj'n Robbarts | " | — |

VI

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MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE
 UNDER THE COMMAND OF LIEUT. ELISHA HAWLEY.
 DATED, DECEMBER, 1747, TILL MARCH, 1748, AT FORT
 MASSACHUSETTS¹

| | | |
|-----------------|--------|-------------|
| Elisha Hawley | Lieut. | Northampton |
| John Foster | Sergt. | Deerfield |
| Ebenezer Gould | Corp'l | Chelmsford |
| Oliver Avery | Cent. | Deerfield |
| Oliver Barret | " | Dracut |
| Jesse Heath | " | Woodstock |
| Jonathan Barron | " | — |
| Abraham Bass | " | Worcester |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 233-234.

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------|--------------|---|
| Thomas Hooper | Cent. | Mendon | |
| Daniel Ward | " | Shrewsbury | |
| Zachariah Hicks | " | Sutton | |
| Richard Burt | " | Kingston | |
| John Crooks | " | Marlborough | |
| Richard Staudley | " | Woburn | |
| Nathaniel Smith | " | Marlborough | |
| David Thomson | " | Billerica | |
| Daniel Kinney | " | Sutton | |
| Thomas Blodget | " | Chelmsford | |
| Isaac Wyman | " | Woburn | |
| Nathaniel Hunt | " | Dracut | |
| Eliseus Barron | " | Dracut | |
| Joseph Wilson | " | Billerica | |
| John Corey | " | New Bedford? | |
| James Smith | " | Leicester | |
| Jonathan Dutton | " | Billerica | |
| Joseph Washburn | " | ———— | |
| Edward Brooks | " | Western | |
| Fortunatus Taylor | " | Shrewsbury | |
| Amasa Cranson | " | Shrewsbury | |
| Benjamin Fairbank | " | Dudley | |
| William McClallan | " | Worcester | |
| Silas Pratt | " | Worcester | |
| Abner Robards | " | ———— | |
| Moses Peter Attucks | " | Leicester | (Negro slave of John White ¹) |
| John Crofford | " | Worcester | |
| Samuel Bowman | " | Worcester | |
| Abraham Peck | " | ———— | |
| Hezekiah Wood | " | ———— | |
| William Sabins | " | Brookfield | |
| John Morse | " | Woodstock | |
| Cesar Negro | " | ———— | (Slave of Hezekiah Ward ¹) |
| Thomas Walkup | " | ———— | |
| Joseph Bates | " | Dracut | |

¹ Slavery abolished in Massachusetts, 1780-1781.

VII

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MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE
UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS,
JUN'R, AT FORT MASSACHUSETTS. DATED MARCH TO
DECEMBER 11, 1749¹

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|-------|
| Ephraim Williams, Jun'r | Capt. | John Henry | Cent. |
| Elisha Hawley | Lieut. | John Harmon | " |
| Elisha Chapin | Sergt. | Benja Hastings | " |
| Caleb Chapin | Sergt. | John Morrison | " |
| Nathaniel Eustis | Sergt. | Silas Pratt | " |
| Charles Parmetor | Corpl. | Benja Roberts | " |
| Jonathan Stone | Corpl. | Abner Roberts | " |
| Abraham Bass | Corpl. | Ebenezer Reed (Read?) | " |
| Isaac Wyman | Clerk | James Smith | " |
| John Hooker | Gun'r. | Edmond Town | " |
| Phineas Nevers | Surge. | Fortunatus Taylor | " |
| Seth Hudson | Surge. | John Taylor | " |
| Oliver Avery | Cent. | Daniel Ward | " |
| Moses Peter Attucks | " | William Williston | " |
| (Negro slave of John White) | | Samuel Wells | " |
| Jonathan Barron | Cent. | Simeon Wells | " |
| John Bush | " | Samuel Calhoun (Calhoon) | " |
| Nathan'l Brooks | " | Daniel Graves | " |
| John Crofford (Crawford?) | " | Nath. Harvey | " |
| Charles Coats | " | Barnard Wiles (Barnabas | " |
| William Sanderson | " | Niles or Willis?) | |
| Charles Denio | " | Samuel Taylor | " |
| Jonathan Evans | " | Leml Avery | " |
| Ebenezer Graves | " | Cesar Negro (Slave of | " |
| Micah Harrington | " | Hezekiah Ward) | |
| James Hathorn (Haw- | " | Zacha. Hicks | " |
| thorne?) | | Moses Tenney | " |
| Timothy Holton | " | Benja Tilton ² | " |
| Ithemer Healy | " | | |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 231-232.

² The names: Calhoun, Morrison, Denio, Crawford, Henry, Healey, Tilton, etc., are of Scotch-Irish origin. Several of the first proprietors of Hoosac and Walloomsac towns.

VIII

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MUSTER ROLLS OF THE COMPANIES IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE OF FORTS MASSACHUSETTS, SHIRLEY, AND PELHAM, UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JUN'R. DATED DECEMBER 11, 1749-JUNE 3, 1750¹

FORT MASSACHUSETTS

FORT SHIRLEY

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------|
| Ephraim Williams | Capt. | William Lyman | Lieut. |
| Elisha Hawley | Lieut. | Peter Bovee (A Dutch- | |
| Isaac Wyman | Clerk | man from Krieger | |
| Seth Hudson | Surgeon | Colony) | Cent! |
| Oliver Avery | Cent! | Gershom Hawks (Nephew | |
| Samuel Avery | " | of Sergt. John Hawks) | " |
| Abraham Bass | " | John Pannell | " |
| Ebenezer Graves | " | Samuel Stebbins | " |
| John Hooker | " | | |
| Micah Harrington | " | | |
| John Harmon | " | | |
| Silas Pratt | " | | |
| Abner Robbarts | " | | |
| Ebenezer Reed | " | | |
| John Taylor | " | | |
| William Williston | " | | |
| Samuel Taylor | " | | |
| Samuel Calhoun | " | | |
| Nathaniel Harvey | " | | |
| Ezekiel Foster | " | | |
| Moses Tenny | " | | |
| (Foster was "omitted in my last") | | | |
| (Tenny do. "on Captain Williams | | | |
| Roll") | | | |

FORT PELHAM

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Joseph Allen (Joseph | |
| Allen of Northampton | |
| was father of "Fighting | |
| Parson" Thomas Allen | |
| of Pittsfield, a cousin of | |
| Ethan Allen of Benning- | |
| ton) | Sergt. |
| Joshua Hawks | Cent! |
| Joshua Wells | " |
| Daniel Donnilson | " |
| William Stevens | " |

IX

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MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JUN'R, AT FORT MASSACHUSETTS. DATED JUNE 4, 1750-JANUARY 13, 1751²

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|---------------|--------|
| Ephraim Williams | Capt. | Elisha Hawley | Lieut. |
|------------------|-------|---------------|--------|

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 234.

² *Ibid*, p. 236.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| Oliver Avery | Cent. | Seth Hudson | Cent. |
| Lemuel Avery | " | Elisha Chapin | " |
| Abraham Bass | " | Abner Roberts | " |
| Samuel Calhoun | " | Samuel Taylor | " |
| Ezekiel Foster | " | Isaac Wyman | " |
| Ebenezer Graves | " | Paul Langdon | " |
| Micah Harrington | " | Aaron Van Horn(Omitted | |
| Nathaniel Harvey | " | on my Roll Ending 1746) | " |

Boston, Jan. 13, 1751. Errors Excepted.
Per Ephraim Williams.

X

[Pages 128, 150]

CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JR.'S LETTER¹

ADDRESSED TO THE HON. SPENCER PHIPS ESQ'R,—LIEUT.-GOVERNOR AND
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS
BAY AT CAMBRIDGE.

FORT MASSACHUSETTS, Sept. 3, 1751.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR

Last week came to ye fort 8 Scattecook Indians, who told me the land was theirs, and that the English had no Business to Settle it Untill such times as they had purchased of them. They further said yt when we began to Build the first Fort, they told the English they must not Build the Fort Except they would pay them for the land, and that the Commandr had promist them pay, but the English had not been as good as their word. In answer I told them as to what promises they had had, I was not Accountable, but be they what they would, I did not Suppose they were binding Upon Us now, for it was well known that their tribe was in the French Interest the last war, and that a number of them assisted in taking the Fort and that we now held the land by Right of Conquest.

They said it was true a number of ye tribe was gone to Canada but they were not the proper owners of the land. I told them if those Indians were here they would challenge the land as they now did, and denie that ever they were in the French interest, that if the English were disposed to purchase the land it was Impossible to know who were the right owners, notwithstanding I would inform the gov^r and Doubted not but he would lay the matter before the Court, but then I must know how much land they called theirs, and what their price was; they told me it was theirs as far South as the head of all streams that Emtied into Hoosuck River, (on the Ashawaghsac in Lanesboro and Green River in Hancock) and their price was £800 ye York money. I told them I thought the price was anough, and that the Province would not give

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 243-244.

it. there is no doubt with me but yt the French are at the bottom of all this, a part of this tribe is now at Canada, and in order to git the Rest they have set a price for the land they know we never will comply with. Last night came to the Fort 2 French men and one English Captive whose name is John Carter he was taken when Deerfield was Destroyed (1704) he is now married in Canada and has a family there: the French mens mother is an English Captive taken at the same time she was old Mr Thomas French's Daughter. they had a pass from the gove^a of Canada, and are agoing to see yr Relations as they say; but if the truth was known I believe they are Sent for Spies.

I askt them what news; they said there was 14 ships from France several of which were men of war, but they had brought any news remarkable I then Inquired whether the Indians want gone to war Upon our frontiers in the Eastern Country they said No, they had done now.

Concerning the Deer your Hon^r spoke to em about. I have done all that has been in my power to serve you though to little purpose. I have been 20 miles west of Albany but could not git any.

I should have Informed you Sooner but had not an opportunity except I should have sent your Honour an Express which I dont Remember was your Desire

I am S^r your Hon^s most obedient Humble Serv^t

EPH. WILLIAMS JUNR.

Governor PHIPS.

(ENDORSED)

In the House of Representatives, Jan. 23, 1752. Read and Voted that Col. Lydius of the City of Albany together with the within named Capt. Ephraim Williams be desired to make a thorough Enquiry respecting the Indian Title to the said lands, whether they belong to said Scauticook Indians or other Indians living near the Hudson's River, or at Stockbridge—And report thereon to this Court as soon as may be.

XI

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MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE
UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. ELISHA CHAPIN OF FORT
MASSACHUSETTS. DATED, JUNE 1752-JUNE 1753¹

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| Elisha Chapin | Capt. | Silas Pratt | Cen'tl |
| Isaac Wyman | Serg't | Samuel Taylor | " |
| Abraham Bass | Cent'l | Peter Boovee | " |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 249.

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|
| Gad Chapin | Cent'l | Christopher Tyler | Cent'l |
| Ezekiel Foster | " | Thomas Train | " |
| John Crawford | " | Archibal Panil (of Fort | " |
| Samuel Calhoun | " | Shirley) | " |
| John Adams | " | George Hall (of Fort | |
| Elijah Brown | " | Pelham)" | " |
| John Chamberlin | " | | |

XII

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LAST MUSTER ROLL IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE UNDER THE
COMMAND OF CAPT. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JUN'R, OF FORT
MASSACHUSETTS. DATED, SEPTEMBER, 1754-MARCH, 1755¹

| | | | |
|------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------|
| Ephraim Williams | Capt. | John Crofford | Cent. |
| Isaac Wyman | Lieut. | John Bowin | " |
| Samuel Taylor | Sergt. | Thomas Trail (Train?) | " |
| Edmond Town | Sergt. | John Herrold | " |
| Gad Chapin | Sergt. | Micha Harrington | " |
| Oliver Avery | Corp'l | Ezra Parker | " |
| Sam'l Calhoun | Corp'l | John Balsh | " |
| Sam'l Catlin | Cent. | Josiah Goodwish | " |
| John Taylor | " | Nath. Nickells | " |
| Elisha Higgins | " | John Gray | " |
| Benja King | " | Seth Hudson | " |
| George Wilson | " | Mayhew Daggitt | " |
| John Rosher | " | Gideon Warren | " |
| Tyrus Pratt | " | Elisha Sheldon | " |
| Noah Pratt | " | Simeon Crawford | " |
| Abraham Bass | " | John Meacham | " |
| Jeremi'h Chapin | " | Derrick Webb | " |
| John Mills | " | Benja. Simonds | " |
| Enoch Chapin | " | Gad Corse | " |
| Silas Pratt | " | Henry Stiles | " |
| Ezekiel Foster | " | | |

Captain Williams took oath of correctness of Muster Roll at Boston,
June 13, 1755.

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 266.

XIII

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MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE UNDER CAPT. ISAAC WYMAN, IN COMMAND OF FORT MASSACHUSETTS DURING COL. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS'S MARCH TO LAKE GEORGE. DATED, JULY, 1755¹

| | | | |
|------------------|--------|---------------------------|-------|
| Isaac Wyman | Capt. | Joseph Lovell | Cent. |
| Samuel Taylor | Sergt. | Josiah Sodwick | " |
| Edmond Town | Sergt. | Pall Rice | " |
| Salah Barnard | Ens. | John Crawford | " |
| Elisha Chapin | Clerk | John Calhoun (Illegible)? | " |
| Ebenzr Graves | Cent. | Jabiz Warren | " |
| John Wells | " | Derick Webb | " |
| Tyrus Pratt | " | Benj'n Simonds | " |
| Thoms Train | " | Seth Hudson | " |
| Gad Corse | " | Gidan Warren | " |
| John Van Norman | | Joseph Brush | " |
| (A Dutchman from | | John Holdbroock | " |
| Kriegger Colony) | " | Daniel Miller | " |
| Elijah Sheldon | " | Joseph Richards | " |
| Benjn King | " | Samel Hudson | " |
| George Wilson | " | Isaac Searles | " |
| Noah Pratt | " | William Barron | " |
| Abram Bass | " | Simon Morgan | " |
| Enoch Chapin | " | Ezekl Day | " |
| Silas Pratt | " | Isaac Morgan | " |
| Adington Gardner | " | Levy Eley | " |
| Isaac Bond | " | Joseph Bigelow (Deserted) | " |

The above Muster Roll was forwarded to Col. Ephraim Williams, it is believed, by Sergt. Edmond Town, who was a messenger or express between Fort Massachusetts and Colonel Williams's Greenbush encampment until his march to Lake George.

XIV

[Pages 179, 192]

MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY OF MUSKET MEN, CONTAINING 59 ENGLISH HOOSAC MINUTE MEN UNDER CAPT. SAMUEL SLOAN, WHO MARCHED WITH GENERAL ARNOLD'S REGIMENT AGAINST QUEBEC, 1775-1776.²

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Samuel Sloan | Capt. | Williamstown | On command to Quebec |
| Zebediah Sabin | 1st Lieut. | " | " " " " " |
| Enos Parker | 2d Lieut. | E. Hoosuck | |

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 309.

² Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 39-40.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------------|----------------------|---|---|---|
| Asaph Cook | Sergt. | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| David Johnson | " | Williamstown | On command to Quebec | | | |
| Bartholomew Woodcock | " | " | | | | |
| Alexander Sloan | " | " | | | | |
| Barachiah Johnson | Corp. | " | | | | |
| Thaddeus Munson | " | Lanesborough | | | | |
| William Mayhew | " | New Providence | | | | |
| James McMaster | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| Charles King | Drummer | Sheffield | " | " | " | " |
| Ichabod Parker | Soldier | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| Ezra Church | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| William Spencer | " | " | | | | |
| Jesse Jewell | " | E. Hoosuck | " | " | " | " |
| Edward Bailey | " | Lanesborough | | | | |
| Daniel Johnson | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| Charles Sabin | " | " | | | | |
| Foard Bass | " | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| James Andrews | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| David Parkhill | " | " | | | | |
| Elijah Flynt | " | " | | | | |
| Starling Daniels | " | " | | | | |
| Joshua Smedley | " | " | | | | |
| Jonathan Hall | " | " | | | | |
| Henry Wilcox | " | " | | | | |
| Nathaniel Parker | " | E. Hoosuck | " | " | " | " |
| Samuel Pettebone | " | Lanesborough | | | | |
| William Bennett | " | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| Jere. Osburn | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| Anthony Lamb | " | " | | | | |
| Eliphalet White | " | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| Benjamin Dibble | " | " " | | | | |
| Samuel Wilcox | " | Williamstown | | | | |
| Israel Mead | " | New Ashford | | | | |
| William Bates | " | " " | | | | |
| Joites Barns | " | E. Hoosuck | | | | |
| Andrew Hinman | " | Lanesborough | | | | |
| Samuel Clark | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| Thomas Whitney | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| Isaiah Honeywell | " | " | | | | |
| John Hall | " | " | | | | |
| Joseph Lawrence | " | Gageborough | | | | |
| Thomas Pall | " | New Providence | | | | |
| Seth Pettebone | " | Lanesborough | | | | |
| Jeremiah Collins | " | New Providence | | | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------|----------------|----------------------|
| James Holden | Soldier | E. Hoosuck | |
| Moses Rich | " | Williamstown | |
| Ebenezer Hutchinson | " | " | |
| Timothy Sherwood | " | " | |
| William Young | " | " | |
| Absalom Baker | " | " | |
| Michael Watkins | " | New Providence | |
| Duncan Dunn | " | E. Hoosuck | |
| William Popkins | " | Boston | In the train 1 July. |
| Alexander Spencer | " | Williamstown | Discharged 1 Oct. |
| Alexander Spencer, Jr. | " | " | On command to Quebec |
| Ahasuel Turret | " | " | Discharged 20 Sept. |

XV

[Page 277]

THE GREEN MOUNTAIN SETTLERS' PETITION¹

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the several subscribers hereto, your majesty's most loyal subjects, sheweth to your majesty:

That we obtained at considerable expense of our majesty's governor of the Province of New Hampshire, grants and patents for more than 100 townships in the western parts of the said supposed province; and being about to settle same many of us, and others of us, having actually planted ourselves on the same, were disagreeably surprised and prevented from going on with the further intended settlements, by the news of its having been determined by your majesty in council that those lands were within the province of N. Y. and by a proclamation issued by Lieut.-Gov. Colden in consequence thereof, forbidding any further settlement until patents of confirmation should be obtained from the governor of N. Y. Whereupon we applied to the governor of said province of N. Y. to have the same lands confirmed to us in the same manner as they had been at first granted to us by the governor of said N. H.; when, to our utter astonishment, we found the same could not be done without our paying as fees of office for the same at the rate of 25 pounds New York money, equal to about 14 pounds sterling, for every 1000 acres of said lands, amounting to about 330 pounds sterling at a medium, for each of said townships, and which will amount in the whole to about 33,000 pounds sterling, besides a quit rent of two shillings and sixpence sterling for every hundred acres of said lands; and which being utterly unable to do and preform, we find ourselves reduced to the sad necessity of losing all our past expense and advancements; and many of us being so reduced to absolute poverty and want, having expended our all in making said settlements.

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., 1027.

Whereupon your petitioners beg leave most humbly to observe:

I—That when we applied for and obtained said grants of said lands, the same were and had been at all times fully understood and reported to lie and be within the said province of N. H., and were within the power of the governor of that province to grant; so that your petitioners humbly hope they are equitably entitled to a confirmation of the said grants to them.

II—The said grants were made and received on the moderate terms of your petitioner's paying as a quit rent *one shilling* only, proclamation money, equal to *nine pence* sterling per hundred acres; and which induced us to undertake to settle said townships throughout and thereby to form a full and compacted country of people, whereas the imposing the said *two shillings and six pence* sterling per hundred acres will occasion all the more rough and unprofitable parts of said lands not to be taken up; but pitches, and the more valuable parcels only to be laid out, to the utter preventing the full and proper settlement of said country, and in the whole to the lessening your majesty's revenue.

III—Your humble petitioners conceive, that the insisting to have large and very exorbitant fees of office to arise and be computed upon every thousand acres in every township of six or perhaps more miles square, and that when one patent, one seal and one step only of every kind, towards the completing such patents of confirmation respectively is necessary, is without all reasonable and equitable foundation, and must and will necessarily terminate in totally preventing your petitioners obtaining the said lands, and so the same will fall into the hands of the rich, to be taken up, the more valuable parts only as aforesaid, and those perhaps not entered upon and settled for many years to come; while your petitioners with their numerous and helpless families, will be obliged to wander far and wide to find where to plant themselves down, so as to be able to live.

Whereupon your petitioners most humbly pray and earnestly hope that your majesty will be graciously pleased to take their distressed state and condition into your royall consideration, and order that we have our said lands confirmed and acquitted to us on such reasonable terms, and in such way and manner as your majesty shall think fit.

Further, we beg leave to say, that if it might be consistent with your majesty's royal pleasure, we shall esteem it a very great favor and happiness, to have said townships put and continued under the jurisdiction of the said province of N. H.; as at first, as every emolument and convenience both public and private, are in your petitioners' humble opinion clearly and strongly on the side of such connection with the said N. H. province. All which favors, or such and so many of them as to your majesty shall seem meet to grant, we humble ask; or that your majesty will in some other way, grant relief to your petitioners; and they, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Signed and Dated in New England, Nov. 1766; and in the seventh year of his majesty's reign.

The original manuscript Petition, with most of the settlers' signatures, was found among the papers of William Samuel Johnson, attorney of Samuel Robinson, Sr. It is now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Montpelier, Vt. The MS. of the Diary of Mr. Johnson, while in London with Samuel Robinson, descended to his grandson, William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Conn.

XVI

[Page 277]

REBUKE OF THE KING TO GOVERNOR MOORE

LORD SHELBURNE'S LETTER¹

WHITE HALL, April 11, 1767.

SIR: Two petitions having been most humbly presented to the king in council, one by the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel, and the other by Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, in behalf of himself and more than one thousand other grantees of lands on the west side of Connecticut river, under certain grants issued by Benning Wentworth, Esq., Governor of New Hampshire, and preparing for redress in several very great grievances therein set forth, lest there should be any further proceedings in this matter till such time as the council shall have examined into the grounds of it, I am to signify to you his majesty's commands that you make no new grants of those lands, and that you do not molest any person in quiet possession of his grant, who can produce good and valid deeds for such grant under the seal of the province of New Hampshire until you receive further orders respecting them.

In my letter of the 11th of Dec. I was very explicit upon the point *former grants*. You are therein directed to take care that the inhabitants lying westward of the line reported by the board of trade as the boundary of the two provinces be not molested on account of territorial differences, or disputed jurisdiction for *whatever province* the settlers may be found to belong to, it should make no difference to their property, provided that their titles to their lands should be found good in other respects, or that they have long been in the uninterrupted possession of them.

His majesty's intentions are so clearly expressed to you in the above paragraph, that I cannot doubt of your having immediately upon receipt of it removed any cause of those complaints which the petitioners set forth. If not, it is the King's express command that it may be done without the smallest delay. The power of granting lands was vested in the governors of the colony, originally for the purpose of accommodating, not distressing settlers, especially the poor and industrious. Any perversion of that power, therefore, must be highly derogatory, both from the dignity of their stations and from the dis-

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., 589.

interested character which a governor ought to support, and which his majesty expects from every person honoured with his commission. The unreasonable-ness of obliging a very large tract of country to pay a *second time* the immense sum of 33,000 pounds in fees, according to the allegations of this petition, for no other reason than its being found necessary to settle the line of boundary between the colonies in question, is so unjustifiable that his majesty is not only determined to have the strictest inquiry made into the circumstances of the charge, but expects the clearest and fullest answer to every part of it.

I am, etc.

SHELBURNE.

Sir HENRY MOORE, Bart.

XVII

[Page 278]

TREATY OF THE SETTLERS OF ENGLISH WALLOOMSAC TOWNS WITH THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS FOR THE SCHAGHTI- COCKES' HOOSAC HUNTING-GROUNDS ¹

BENNINGTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS,
November 30, 1767.

Whereas the Stockbridge Indian Tribe, Col. Jacobs and others, Challenge twelve or more Townships of land Situate and being On the West Line of the Province of New Hampshire, as Chartered by Benning Wentworth Esq. Governor of s^d Province, and the s^d Indian Tribe are Willing and will be Ready On the First day of January next to Treat with us or any one of us Respecting their Title, and will at that time Likewise appoint a Meeting at which meeting They will make it Appear That They are the Sole Owners Thereof and have the only Proper and Lawful Right to Sell and Convey the Same; and whereas we the Subscribers whose names are hereunto Prefixed, being Willing and desirous to make Sure to Ourselves and Successors a good and Sufficient title to the Interests which we now Possess, and to make such Addition or Additions Thereto as Shall be Thought Proper and Conductive to our Several Interests

By { Mr. JEDIDIAH DEWEY
CAPT. JOHN FASSETT & S. FAY } Whome we depute and Elect to Treat with s^d tribe or Such of them as will be necessary to treat with, In order to ye procurement of a proper title to Such Land and Lands Lying and being as afores'd, In Consideration of all which we Severally Engage For ourselves Heirs Ex^{ts} and Administrators to pay or Cause To be paid to the s^d Jedidiah, John or Stephen the Severall Sum or Sums According to our Proprietorship As will Appear by y^e Charter afores'd both y^e Sum and Sums which he or they may give for s^d Land or Lands and y^e Cost and Costs Necessarily Arising by

¹ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 156-157.

means of the Procurement of s^d Title and to pay Such Sum or Sums of money Unto y^e s^d Jedidiah, John or Stephen at Such time and times as he or they Shall agree with the s^d Tribe Indian. Witness Each of our hands, &c.

The original MS. Treaty was drawn up by Leonard Robinson of Bennington. The sheet of paper used was written on both sides, signed by 101 proprietors, residing in Pownal, Bennington, and adjoining Walloomsac towns on the New Hampshire Grants. The quaint document is said to be deposited in the historical collection of Revolutionary relics in the George Wadsworth Robinson Mansion at Bennington Centre, Vt.

XVIII

[Pages 296, 300]

ARNOLD'S BILL OF EXPENSES¹

THE HONORABLE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY
To B. ARNOLD, DR.

| | | <i>Disbursements from Cambridge to Ticonderoga</i> | | |
|------|--|--|----|----|
| 1775 | | £ | s. | d. |
| May | 4—To shoeing horses on the road..... | | 8 | |
| | To dinner, horse keeping &c at Concord..... | | 15 | 3 |
| | To shoeing horse 4s. 6d.; liquor, 2s. 8d..... | | 7 | 4 |
| | To supper and lodging at Shrewsbury..... | | 17 | 9 |
| | 5—To breakfast &c. at Holden 10s. 10d.; dinners, 3s. 4d.; suppers and lodging, 5s. 6d..... | | 19 | 8 |
| | 6—To ferrage at Deerfield, 1s. 6d.; breakfast 2s. 2d..... | | 3 | 8 |
| | To shoeing horse, 5s. 5d.; ferrage, 1s. 4d..... | | 6 | 9 |
| | To cash paid Capt. Oswald at Shrewsbury, expenses... | 18 | 17 | 9 |
| | To cash paid Thomas W. Dickenson, expenses of cattle | 6 | | |
| | To Captain Brown's bill of expence..... | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| | To dinner and lodging, 4s. 10.; paid Nehemiah Smedley 60s..... | 3 | 4 | 10 |
| | 7—To dinner, suppers and lodging..... | | 7 | 8 |
| | 8—To dinner &c..... | | 6 | |
| | 10—To cash paid Captain Warner, expenses to Crown Point..... | | 18 | |
| | To—of horses 5s.; paid the Commissary 3s..... | | 8 | |
| | 13—To cash paid Sergt. Anderson 12 gallons rum for people..... | 2 | 8 | |
| | 14—To ditto paid Mr. Romans for expenses to Albany and Hartford..... | 2 | 16 | |

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 27.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|----|
| To ditto paid William Nichols express to Hartford | 4 | 4 | |
| 18—To ditto paid Lewis, expenses 6s., baking bread 6s. 4d. . | | 12 | 4 |
| To ditto paid spy for intelligence to St. Johns | 1 | 8 | |
| To expenses on the road to St. Johns | | 10 | |
| To Donihue's bill at St. Johns | 2 | 19 | 6 |
| To cash paid Lieut. Lyman's expenses | | 1 | 6 |
| To Walson's bills 8s.; Lyman's bill of expenses 8s. 3d. . | | 16 | 3 |
| 20—To cash paid Capt. Brown's expenses to Cambridge and back | 8 | 18 | 8 |
| To ditto paid Capt. Nineham, an Indian Ambassador from Stockbridge to Caunawauga | 3 | 12 | |

XIX

[Pages 299, 300]

ARNOLD'S COMMISSION¹

MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, MAY 3, 1775.

To Benedict Arnold, Esq., Commander of a body of Troops on an Expedition to subdue and take possession of the Fort of Ticonderoga.

SIR:—Confiding in your Judgment, fidelity and Valor, we do by these Presents constitute and appoint you Colonel and Commander in Chief over a Body of Men not exceeding four hundred, to proceed with all expedition to the Western parts of this and the neighboring Colonies, where you are directed to enlist those Men and with them forthwith to march to the Fort at Ticonderoga and use your best endeavors to reduce the same, taking possession of the Cannon, Mortars, Stores, and also the vessel and other Cannon and Stores upon the Lake; you are to bring back with you such of the Cannon and Mortars, Stores, &c., as you shall judge may be serviceable to the Army here (Cambridge), leaving behind what may be necessary to secure the Post with a sufficient Garrison. You are to secure suitable Provisions and Stores for the Army, and draw upon the Committee of Safety for the amount thereof, and to act in every exigence according to your best skill and discretion for the publick Interest—for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

BENJA CHURCH, JUN'R,

By Order

Chairman Com'tee of Safety.

WILLIAM COOPER, Sec'y.

¹ Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 26.

XX

[Pages 323, 337]

MUSTER ROLL OF EAST BENNINGTON COMPANY CONTAIN-
ING 77 NAMES UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. SAMUEL
ROBINSON, AUG. 16, 1777¹

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| Samuel Robinson | Capt. | Aaron Miller | Soldier |
| Simeon Hatheway | Lieut. | John Fay | " |
| William Henry | Lieut. | Elijah Fay | " |
| David Fay | Fifer | Joseph Fay | " |
| Robert Cochran | Officer | John Clark | " |
| Gideon Spencer | " | Jehoshaphat Holmes | " |
| Henry Walbridge | Soldier | Moses Rice | " |
| Rufus Branch | " | Benjamin Whipple, Jr. | " |
| John Larned | " | Silas Robinson | " |
| Thomas Abel | " | John Weeks | " |
| Nathan Lawrence | " | Moses Scott | " |
| Josiah Brush | " | Alpheus Hatheway | " |
| Leonard Robinson | " | Solomon Walbridge | " |
| Daniel Biddlecome | " | Ebenezer Brackett | " |
| Levy Hatheway | " | Jehiel Smith | " |
| Abram Hatheway | " | Asa Branch | " |
| Reuben Colvin | " | Phineas Wright | " |
| Eliphalet Stickney | " | John Smith | " |
| Daniel Rude (Rood?) | " | Jesse Belknap | " |
| Benjamin Holmes | " | Silvanus Brown | " |
| James Marivater | " | John Forbes | " |
| Mr. Alger | " | Stephen Williams | " |
| Aminie Fuller | " | William Post | " |
| Jonah Brewster | " | David Safford | " |
| George Dale | " | Jared Post | " |
| John Marble | " | Jeremiah Bingham | " |
| Ephraim Marble | " | Samuel Slocum | " |
| Aaron Hubbell | " | Josiah Hurd | " |
| Samuel Safford, Jr. | " | Ezekiel Brewster | " |
| Aaron Smith | " | Solomon Leason | " |
| Ephraim Smith | " | Thomas Selden | " |
| Samuel Henry | " | John Rigney | " |
| Edward Henderson | " | Elisha Smith | " |
| Jonathan Haynes | " | Solomon Safford | " |
| Daniel Warner | " | Joseph Roe | " |
| Archelans Tupper | " | William Terrill | " |

¹ Rev. Isaac Jennings's *Memorials of a Century*, p. 201, 1869.

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| Noah Beach | Soldier | Joseph Safford | Soldier |
| Simeon Sears | " | Isaac Webster | " |
| David Robinson | " | | |

XXI

[Pages 323, 337]

MUSTER ROLL OF WEST BENNINGTON COMPANY, CONTAIN-
ING 78 NAMES, UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. ELIJAH
DEWEY, AUG. 16, 1777¹

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|------------------------------|----------|
| Elijah Dewey | Capt. | Ezekial Smith | Soldier |
| Joseph Rudd | Lieut. | Christopher Cluff | " |
| Thomas Jewett | Lieut. | Jonathan Parsons | " |
| Nathaniel Fillmore ² | Ensign | Amos Page | " |
| Daniel Harmon | Sergt. | Samuel Rood | " |
| Thomas Hayner | Soldier | Daniel Kingsley | " |
| Jedidiah Merrill | " | Joseph Wickwire | " |
| Jonathan Griswold | " | Nathan Clark, Jr. | " |
| Seth Partee | " | John Smith | " |
| Aaron Hayner | " | Libbens Armstrong | " |
| Jonathan Hayner, Jr. | " | Hezekiah Armstrong | " |
| Ezekiel Harmon | " | Hopetill Armstrong | " |
| Daniel Towslee | " | John Kingsley | " |
| Silas Harmon | " | Eleazer Hawks | " |
| Caleb Harmon | " | Samuel Tubbs | " |
| Joshua Harmon | " | John Rudd | " |
| Abner Marble | " | Elijah Story | " |
| John Partee | " | Benajah Story | " |
| Joseph Robinson | " | Nathaniel Holmes | " |
| John Barnham, Jr. ³ | " | Elanathan Hubbell | " |
| Shadrack Harris | " | Griffin Briggs | " |
| Thomas Henderson | " | Elijah Higgins | " |
| Roger Ladd | " | Ithamar Hibbard ⁴ | Chaplain |
| George Christie | " | Cyrus Clark | Soldier |

¹ Miss Gertrude Hubbell, a great granddaughter of Capt. Elijah Dewey, after a research among family documents of Revolutionary days, discovered the muster roll of the West Bennington Company of 1777. It was first published in the *Bennington Reformer*, March 21, 1890, and subsequently issued in Melvin H. Robinson's *Bennington Souvenir* in 1904.

² Grandsire of President Millard Fillmore.

³ Burnham (?)

⁴ Pastor of First Strict-Separatist Congregational Church of Bennington, Hibbard Lot, on western slope of Mt. Anthony, and subsequently the founder of the First Church of Hubbardton. Vt.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Joshua Carpenter | Soldier | Samuel Cutler | Soldier |
| Benajah Hurlburt | " | Lemuel Geers | " |
| Jesse Field | " | Jacob Story | " |
| Amos Herrick | " | Joseph Tinney | " |
| Simeon Harmon | " | Edward Corbin | " |
| Matthew Clark | " | Oliver Rice | " |
| Shadrack Norton | " | Christopher Brackett | " |
| Stephen Cleveland | " | Robert Blair | " |
| Theophilus Clark | " | David Powers | " |
| John Stewart | " | Phineas Still | " |
| Gains Harmon | " | Roswell Moseley ¹ | " |
| Nathaniel Kingsley | " | Joseph Willoughby ¹ | " |
| Job Green | " | Samuel Hunt ¹ | " |
| William Aglesworth | " | Daniel Clark | " |
| Philemon Wood | " | Elishu Clark | " |

The two muster rolls of the companies under Captains Robinson and Dewey have never been published together before this date.

XXII

[Pages 342, 346]

THE FAMOUS RUDD LETTER²

BENNINGTON August the 26 AD 1777

Honoured father after my Duty I take this opertunity to Rite you Hoping these lines will find you well as through the goodnes of god they leave me and my family we meat a great Deal of trouble on the 16 instant my self and Brother John was preserved through a very hot battel we kild and took according to the best account we can git about one thousand of the Enemy our loss was about thirty or forty we marcht Rite against there brest work with our Small armes where they fired with there field peases when they fired upon us every half a minit yet they never tought a man with them we drove them out of there brest work and took there field peases and presed and kild great numbers of them we lost four or five of my Neighbors two Sniders and two Hornbeck the bigger part of Dutch Hosack was in the battel against us they went to the Reglers a Day or two before the fight Samuel Anderson a Captain amonst the Reglers and was in the battel against us while I was gon my wife and children went of and got Down to Williamstown after I got home I went after them and found them to landlord Simons I have got them home again my wife was very

¹ First names supplied from pay-roll of Capt. Dewey's Company at Ticonderoga, 1776. *Vt. Hist. Mag.* i., p. 153.

² Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, pp. 132-133.

much wored out she had four children with her and Selinday was forst to Run on foot we soon Expect the Enemy will come upon us again and what I shall Dew with my family I know not I would inform you that I Received your letter dated August 18 which you tel me you was well which I am glad to hear of it I want to com and see you very much but when I shall I no not if the enemy don't com upon us again this fall I intend to com down and see you we remember our love to all brothers and sisters Respects to all inquiring friend so no more at present but I remain your Dutyful son until Death

JOSEPH RUDD.

John Remembers his Duty to you And has laid out all your Money and Bought About 40 acres of land with a log hous and has a dead of it Joining the seventeen acres Cleared the Rest is wild land I have enclosed Forty shilling upon the Note If you have the Rest you May send it if you Pleas

(Superscribed)

Mr To

JOSEPH RUDD

att

Norwich.

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